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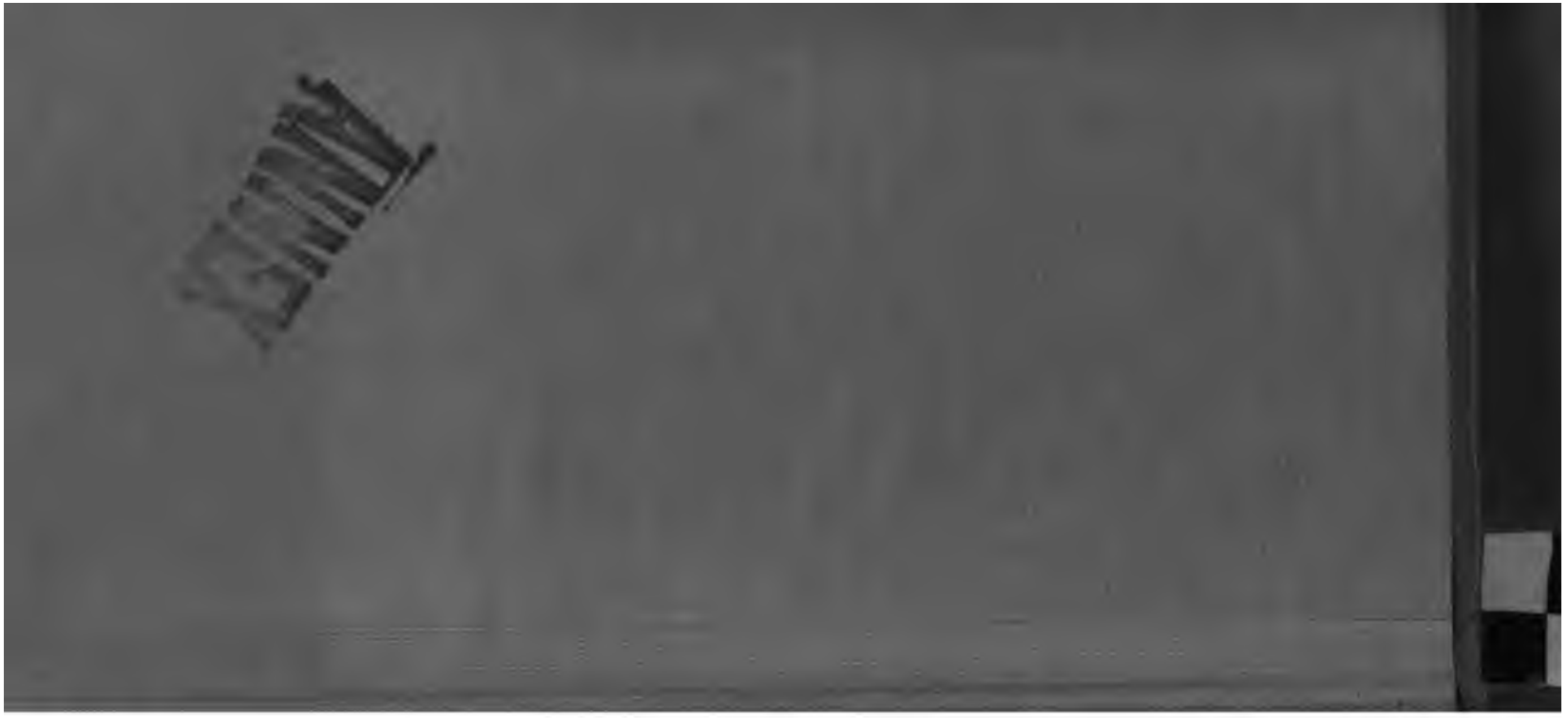

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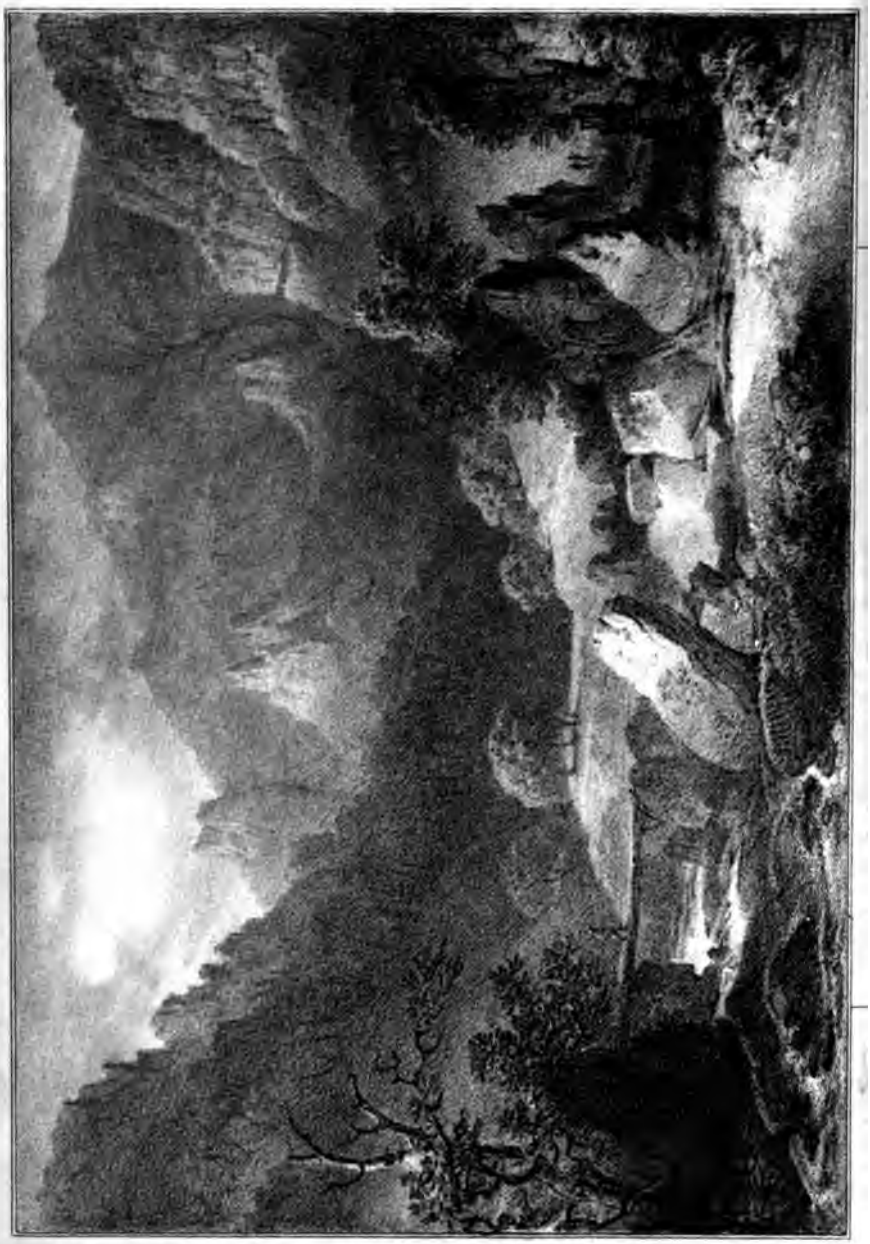

WALDENSIAN RESEARCHES

DURING A

SECOND VISIT

TO THE

VAUDOIS OF PIEMONT.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY INQUIRY INTO THE ANTIQUITY AND PURITY

OF THE

WALDENSIAN CHURCH,

AND SOME ACCOUNT OF THE COMPACTS WITH THE ANCIENT PRINCES OF PIEMONT, AND THE TREATIES BETWEEN THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND THE HOUSE OF SAVOY, IN VIRTUE OF WHICH THIS SOLE RELIC OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH IN ITALY HAS CONTINUED TO ASSERT ITS RELIGIOUS INDEPENDENCE.

BY

WILLIAM STEPHEN GILLY, M.A.

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM.

"Thou small, but favour'd spot of holy ground!
"Where'er we gaze, above, around, below,
"What rainbow tints, what magic charms are found!
"Rock, river, forest, mountain, all abound:
"And bluest skies that harmonise the whole.
"Beneath, the distant torrent's rushing sound
"Tells where the volumed cataract doth roll,
"Between those hanging rocks, that shock, yet please the soul."

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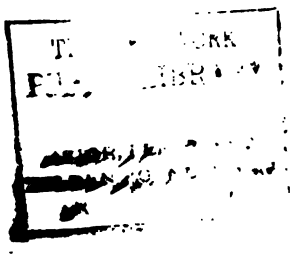
1831.



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ADVERTISEMENT.

In his endeavours to promote the cause of the Vaudois, the Author has received assistance from persons, to whose names he would gratefully assign a distinguished place in this volume, were he permitted to disclose them. Such indeed is the interest which has been excited, and displayed in behalf of the little community, which forms the connecting link between the Primitive and Reformed Churches, and such are the signs of the times, in this case at least favourable to truth, that he is persuaded the day is not far distant, when the Waldensian Church will become

TOTIUS ITALIÆ LUMEN.

He has, therefore, entered into details,

which might otherwise be thought too prolix, that every thing may be put on record, which is likely to illustrate events in ecclesiastical history, the importance of which cannot fail to be appreciated by the Protestant world.

The Italian mode of spelling the Vaudois villages has been used for the most part in the following pages, as *La Torre*, not *La Tour; Maneglia*, not *Maneille;* that the reader may avoid the common mistake, and bear in mind, that the Vaudois are *Italians*, and not *Swiss*, that they are inhabitants of the *Alpine Valleys of Piemont*, and not of the *Pays de Vaud in Switzerland.*

College, Durham,
Feb. 14, 1831.

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ERRATA.

Page 155, line 15 and 19, *for* Nadsmith *read* Nasmith.
—— 166, —— 24, *for* influence *read* ascendancy.
—— 240. —— 9, *for* made *read* make.
—— 249. —— 28, *for* is *read* are.
—— 328, —— 20, *for* 100 *read* 200.
—— 383, —— 10, note, *for* at the Synod, *read* or the Synod.
—— 408, —— 4, *for* 1629 *read* 1639.
—— 456. —— 9, *for* perform *read* conform.
—— 473. —— 14, *for* description *read* order.
—— 544, 547, 560, notes, and p. 559, l. 27, *for* del Pozzo *read* Dal Pozzo.

WALDENSIAN RESEARCHES.

INTRODUCTORY ENQUIRY INTO THE ANTIQUITY AND PURITY OF THE WALDENSIAN CHURCH.

In the summer of 1829, in company with part of my family, I re-visited those scenes in the valleys of Piemont, which had made so deep an impression upon my mind six years before.

Perhaps it would be thought more worthy of the sacred cause, which is so identified with the Vaudois, to write a history of the Waldensian Church in regular order, than to introduce it piece-meal, in the form of a personal narrative. This may be done at some future period, but now, having an immediate object before me, the taste and temper of the times must be consulted, and information must be conveyed through channels, by which it is likely to be received by those for whom it is intended. Volumes, of the character which this is meant to assume, find their way more rapidly into the hands of general readers than those of ecclesiastical history, and as I am

anxious to make the Waldenses thoroughly known, not only to the theological student and the more erudite, but also to persons of ordinary pursuits, I have chosen to re-appear, like Scheharasade, in the Arabian Nights, with a continuation of my former entertainments. I will, however, take care that these entertainments, mixed up as they must be with adventures of the dead, and anecdotes of the living, shall be instructive, upon one of the most important of all topics to a Christian enquirer,—the transmission of the pure faith from the apostolic times to our own. They shall be useful also to him upon another point of view, they shall shew that the beautiful life, which history assures us was led by the early Christians, is not uncommon among many of his fellow-creatures, who are at this moment acting their parts upon the stage of human existence.

The primitive Church! The one little lamp and its light, shining in the middle ages! The struggles of the first Reformers,—Protestantism, in its uncompromising firmness and integrity!—What a crowd of ideas rush into our minds when we think of these!—How we try to imagine the scenes, the characters, the events of antiquity, when Christianity was at its purest and simplest degree, then to trace its course through the dark epochs of Romish usurpation, till it emerges into clear day again, at the æra of the Reformation!—Many of the images, which we conjure up when

reading of the past, are realized before the eyes of those, who have opportunities of seeing the Waldensian Church in her mountain hold,—so wonderfully are the past and the present combined in her form, wasted though it is. In her we find the line carried up to a period sufficiently remote to connect her with the apostolical[1] succession. We trace the creed and the local habitation, if not the very name of this Alpine Church, from age to age upwards, until we reach a date which satisfies us, that having early embraced the primitive faith, she has retained it amid the surrounding darkness, as its only faithful depositary: and having done this, we discover the simple services, the primitive institutions, and the traits of Christian character, which correspond with those that may be collected from the pages of Justin Martyr and Tertullian.

Christian virtue in the abstract, perfectly though it may be described, leaves but a feeble impression on the mind, unless it be embodied in a narrative. The parables of the Gospel are for this reason among the most effective of all the lessons that are taught. It is Christian principle working in the individual, whose path of life we can distinctly follow through the vicissitudes of this world, which fixes attention, and multiplies examples. Wherever the individual picture is wanting, and no feelings

[1] Apostolical, in Tertullian's sense of the word. "Nascentes ex matricibus apostolicis deputantur ut soboles apostolicarum ecclesiarum." Tertul. de Præs.

are awakened in behalf of some one, whose portrait is made to stand well out of its frame, the praises of virtue and the annals of the Church fall too often upon dull ears. Some considerations of this sort, which I happened to see well discussed in a periodical work of the day, (but which I have not at hand to cite,) persuaded me to adopt this mode of publication, when in my desire to stir up Protestant feeling, I was wavering between the project of a history of the Waldensian Church, and the narrative of a second visit to the Vaudois. I was reminded that all historical records, which exhibit no prominent character for the excitement of our personal sympathy, fail of commanding general interest. The mind must undergo the relief of being diverted from the class to the individual, from the scene to the actors. We are not content with the detail of things achieved, we seek acquaintance with the performers. It is human nature we must see, there must be a social glow imparted to the perusal. We want not only a series of names, but a delineation of character appended to each. It is the man we desire to survey; the fellow-creature moved to effort by extraordinary circumstances, as it is possible we may be moved, and acting as we may be called upon to act, in public, in private, at his post in society, among strangers, by his own fire-side, and in the bosom of his family. Those, who would not give themselves the trouble to wade

through a volume bearing the title of Ecclesiastical History, will eagerly read the personal relation of a traveller, who has explored the regions where Christian martyrs have bled, and where humble servants of Christ, breathing the martyrs' spirit, still live; and may even be persuaded to accompany him, cheerfully enough, in his occasional endeavours to unravel the entangled threads of ancient chroniclers.

Having a second time visited the spot where, as Allix has forcibly expressed it, "the purple of Rome has been so deeply dyed in the blood of the saints," and where, as one of their enemies has said, "All means have been employed, from time to time, to root out the Waldenses, and yet, contrary to the opinion of all men, there they still remain conquerors, or at least invincible[1]",—I therefore resume my former tale, and purpose fully to satisfy the curiosity of the many enquirers, who still ask, Who are the Waldenses? Where do they dwell? Are they natives of the Swiss Cantons, or are they French or Italian borderers? Are they Calvinists or Lutherans? Are they descendants of adventurers and innovators from the East, or are they aborigines?

The Waldenses are neither Swiss nor French, they are Italians, and are so named (by a corrupt change of the *v* into *w*) from the mountain val-

[1] Claude Seyssel.

leys which they inhabit, on the eastern side of the Cottian chain of Alps, between Mount Viso and Mount Genevre. Pinerolo is their nearest provincial town; Turin is their nearest capital, and they are subjects of the King of Sardinia. The terms, Vaudois in French, Vallenses in Latin, Valdesi, or Vallesi in Italian, and Waldenses in English ecclesiastical history, signify nothing more or less than "Men of the valleys;" and as the valleys of Piemont have had the honour of producing a race of people, who have remained true to the faith introduced by the first missionaries, who preached Christianity in those regions, the synonyms Vaudois, Valdesi, and Waldenses, have been adopted as the distinguishing names of a religious community, faithful to the primitive creed, and free from the corruptions of the Church of Rome.

Long before the Roman Church, (that new sect, as Claude, Bishop of Turin in 840, called it,) stretched forth its arms, to stifle in its Antæan embrace the independent flocks of the Great Shepherd, the ancestors of the Waldenses were worshipping God in the hill countries of Piemont, as their posterity now worship him. For many ages they continued almost unnoticed. There was nothing to draw them into notoriety. The early history of Piemont is avowed by all writers to be the most obscure of any state in Europe. Muratori has declared that all his researches were in

vain, till he arrived at periods comparatively late. No wonder then that the most unobtrusive and remote of all the natives of Piemont, should escape general observation, till persecution brought them in sight. Composing scattered congregations, at a distance from the busier scenes of superstition and controversy, and peacefully abiding in their sober faith and customs, and departing not at all from that which had been handed down from father to son, the "Men of the valleys" little thought that their name and their belief would one day become a proverb and a bye-word among those, who should turn away from sound doctrine, and hate such as should retain it. When, at length, it came to their ears, that others had yielded a forced or willing assent to the strange domination of a foreign spiritual mistress, these mountaineers protested against such jurisdiction, and finding safety in their wild glens, preserved their fidelity unimpaired.

In process of time, after the extermination of the Albigenses, who were of the stock of the primitive Christians of Gaul, and when the Waldenses composed the only organized church[1] in Europe, which refused to submit, even in form, to the papal yoke, their name was malignantly used by their enemies, as if it were synonymous with heresy of

[1] Reinerus, in the thirteenth century, apologized for applying the term "Church" to them. He knew it would be offensive to the Romanists, but truth forced it from him.

every kind, and of the worst kind. Hence several Romish authors and editors, to blacken their reputation, have resorted to the artifice of employing the term Waldenses in the titles of ancient controversial works, which were written not against them, but against the enemies and opposers of Christianity itself[1].

The Waldenses of Piemont are not to be regarded as the successors of certain reformers, who first started up in France and Italy at a time, when the corruptions of the Roman Church and priesthood became intolerable, but as a race of simple mountaineers, who from generation to generation have continued steadily in the faith preached to their forefathers, when the territory, of which their valleys form a part, was first Christianized. Ample proof will be given of this, as I proceed, and without attempting to fix the exact period of their conversion, I trust to be able to

[1] The Jesuit Gretser, for example, has taken this liberty with the works of Ebrard de Bethune, Bernard of Fons Calidus, Ermengard, and Reinerus, who wrote against Heretics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The most flagitious instance of Gretser's malignity appears in his Edition of the work of Ermengard. The real title was "Opusculum contra hæreticos, qui dicunt et credunt mundum istum, et omnia visibilia non esse a Deo facta, sed Diabolo." (See Bibl. Patr. Parisiis. tom. 4. p. 1235.) Or, "Treatise against those who say and believe that this world and all things visible, were not made by God, but by the Devil."—"Contra Waldenses," is the heading which Gretser has adopted.—More of this hereafter.

establish the fact, that this Alpine tribe embraced the Gospel, as it was first announced in all its purity, and continued true to it, in the midst of almost general apostacy. Nothing is more to be regretted than the mistakes which have been made upon this point, even by Protestant authors [1]. Instead of connecting the Primitive and Reformed, or Protestant, Churches by means of the Waldenses, who really remained unchanged, attempts have been made to date their appearance from the arrival of religious innovators in Europe, and to give an Oriental origin to the first formidable adversaries of Rome. This is countenancing the pretensions of the Latin Church to Catholicity, and to Unchangeableness from the beginning of the Gospel kingdom. It cannot, therefore, be too often repeated, that the Reformation did not spring out of strange doctrines, or out of tenets introduced into Europe from the East, in the eleventh

[1] Sir James Mackintosh is one of the very few historians who have done justice to this subject, and to the claims of the Waldenses. "With the *dawn of History*," says he, "we discover some simple Christians in the valleys of the Alps, where they still exist under the ancient name of Vaudois, who, by the light of the New Testament saw the extraordinary contrast between the purity of primitive times, and the vices of the gorgeous and imperial hierarchy which surrounded them. They were not so much distinguished from others by opinions, as by the pursuit of a more innocent and severe life." History of England, by the Right Hon. Sir J. Mackintosh, in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia. Vol. i. p. 321.

or twelfth century, but from good seeds of apostolical Christianity miraculously preserved in wilds and glens, when cities and capitals, and the high places of the earth, were infected with the heresies of the Pontificate.

To make myself better understood, I must advert to that which two eminent living historians, Dr. M'Crie, and Mr. Sharon Turner, have lately advanced upon this subject.

The former, in his "History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, in the sixteenth century,"—and in its sequel, "The History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain, in the sixteenth century," appears to ascribe the religious movements, of which he treats, to an impulse given by strangers, instead of tracing the cause upwards to seed[1] originally sown in the native soil of Italy and Spain, but trodden down in most parts, until circumstances enabled it to spring up and produce fruit. Dr. M'Crie's two works are monuments of research; but might he not have looked to an

[1] "As for the Waldenses, give me leave to call them the very seed of the Primitive and pure Christian Church, being those who have been so upheld by the wonderful providence of God, that neither those numberless storms and tempests, whereby the whole Christian world hath been shaken, nor those horrible persecutions which have been so directly raised against them, have been able to prevail upon them to yield a voluntary submission to the Roman tyranny and idolatry." Beza, Icones virorum doctrina et virtute illustrium.

earlier period, and have pointed to the fair banner of independence, which, small though it was, waved upon the mountain heights of Barrian [1], Vandelin, and Sestrieres, in defiance of papal usurpation, at the very time, when the pontiffs of Rome were triumphing over the movements of aversion and discontent, which had heretofore, been displayed at Milan and Turin, and in the other cities of the plain?

"Soon after the bishops of Rome had secured the obedience of the Italian clergy, (writes Dr. M'Crie,) and silenced the opposition which arose from Turin, their attention was called to a new class of opponents. Those Christians known in history by the several names of Vaudois, Waldenses, and Albigenses, who condemned the corruptions by which the Church was now every where infected, penetrated through the Alps into Italy, and had already in the year 1180, established themselves in Lombardy and Puglia, where they received frequent visits from their brethren in other countries [2]."

[1] In the Const. Frid. Imp. certain heretics are called Barrini. Might they not have been so named from this mountain in the Valley of Lucerne? See Bib. Patr. 4. pars. 2. p. 727.

[2] History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, in the sixteenth century, page 3.

If I do not misunderstand this able writer, he again leans to similar opinions in his History of the Suppression of the Reformation in Spain. "It is well known that these early Reformers had fixed their abode in the southern provinces of France,

In this passage, the learned historian speaks of the Waldenses as "a new class of opponents" to

where they multiplied greatly in the 11th and 12th centuries," p. 28. "Fixed their abode!" The Albigenses were natives, I should say, and not settlers in France. They derived their origin from the Gauls, who were first converted in that region. The Albigenses did not come to reform the Romanists, but the Romanists intruded upon the Albigenses. Again: "In consequence of this connexion between the two countries, some of the Vaudois had crossed the Pyrenees, and established themselves in Spain as early as the middle of the 12th century," p. 33. Some Vaudois might then have crossed the frontiers, but was not the reluctance which the Spaniards displayed in receiving the Roman Liturgy, when, as Dr. M'Crie observes, "the innovation was warmly opposed by the clergy, nobility, and people at large," (p. 24.) proof enough that this hostility to Rome was of native growth in Spain? Dr. M'Crie is too well read in Spanish history to have omitted to notice, that Spain long continued independent of Rome. See pp. 7—28. It is, therefore, the more to be regretted, that he did not connect the links of the primitive and reformed opinions. So divided are authors upon subjects of this kind, that Mariana has recorded, that a man of great note in his day maintained, that the Albigenses did not go into Spain from France, but from Spain into France. See Mariana Pref. in Lucam Tudensem. Apud Bib. Patr. tom. 4. p. 581. We gather the prevalence of Albigensian and Waldensian principles from these contradictory derivations of their origin. Lucas Tudensis himself says, that Arnald, who was a native of Brescia in Lombardy, and flourished about 1140, came from Gaul to sow the tares of heresy in Spain. See Bib. Patr. vol. 4. p. 706. It is much more likely that Arnald, who travelled for information, and who had studied divinity under the celebrated Abelard, went into Spain to confer with some of the primitive churches remaining in that country. Mariana speaks

the Latin Church, and making them one with the Albigenses, represents them as "penetrating through the Alps into Italy." In other words, he calls them emigrants from France.

That the Albigenses and Waldenses were essentially one in matters of faith, for God did not leave himself without witnesses on either side of the Alps, I am willing to allow, but I cannot concede so much as to admit, that the valleys of Piemont, or the other regions east of the Alps, were indebted to France for the spark which re-kindled the pure flame that brightened Italy. Neither would I assent to the theory, which would people France at the same period with Reformers migrating from Italy. Each country, at that time, retained in its bosom the elements of its own regeneration. Voltaire was well informed upon this subject.

"La confession auriculaire n'était point reçue aux huitiéme et neuviéme siécles, dans les pays au-delà de la Loire, dans le Languedoc, dans les Alpes: Alcuin s'en plaint dans ses lettres. Les

of the Albigenses under the name of Caduci, (Pref. ad Lucam Tudensem. Bib. Patr. vol. 4. p. 581.) In the Spicilegium Dacherii, (vol. 8. p. 154.) there is the form of the election of a Bishop of the Cadurci, A.D. 999, in which not the very slightest allusion is made to papal jurisdiction, or to any connection with the Latin Church, on the contrary, the order for the election issued directly from the royal and ecclesiastical authorities of the province.

peuples de ces contrées semblent avoir eu toûjours quelques dispositions à s'en tenir aux usages de la primitive Eglise, et à rejeter les dogmes et les coutumes, que l'Eglise plus étendue jugea convenable d'adopter.—Ceux qu'on appellait Manichéens, ceux qu'on appellait depuis Vaudois, Albigeois, Lollards, et qui reparurent si souvent sous tant d'autres noms, étaient *des restes des premiers Chrétiens des Gaules,* attachés à plusieurs anciens usages que la Cour Romaine changea depuis, et à des opinions vagues, que cette Cour constata avec le tems. Par exemple, ces premiers Chrétiens n'avaient point connu les images.—C'est une chose assez remarquable, que ces hommes presqu' inconnus au reste du monde, ayent persévéré constamment de tems immémoriel dans des usages, qui avaient changé partout ailleurs [1]."

I cannot cease to regret that it did not fall within the plan of such a patient investigator as Dr. M'Crie, to enquire into this fact, (at which the French historian has only hinted,) for whereas, in his first work, he seems to attribute the progress of Italian reformation to missionaries, or fugitives penetrating through the Alps into Italy; in his second, he leaves it doubtful, whether he be not inclined to derive the Albigensian doctrines, which he had before identified with those of the Waldenses, from an origin neither Italian, nor French,

[1] Additions à l'Histoire Générale, 12mo. pp. 57. 71.

nor Spanish [1]. It is injurious to Protestantism, and to the principles of the Reformation, to sup-

[1] The same justice is not done by Sir James Mackintosh to the Albigenses as to the Waldenses. This learned writer has confounded the Albigenses, in principles, with the Manicheans, and in extraction with those "separatists from the Eastern Church, who had been driven into the west by the persecutors of the Byzantine government." See p. 322. vol. i. of Hist. of Eng. in Lardner's Cyclopædia. Considering the toil which I have had to encounter in sifting truth from error, and the difficulties which occurred at every step, even when my whole attention has been given to this one branch of Ecclesiastical History, I cannot wonder that the general historian should occasionally get wrong in an enquiry, which, as Dr. M'Crie says, requires that an author should have recourse to the tedious process of examining canons of councils, and not only the main substance of books, but their prefaces, and dedications, with epistolary correspondence, and all the minutiæ of early literature.

Two recent publications, which I have just seen, promulgate the same errors with respect to the origin of the Albigenses, and speak of them as a sect, and the production of the 12th century.

"Albigenses, in Church history, a sect or party of reformers, about Thoulouse and Albigeois in Languedoc, who sprung up in the 12th century."—Encyclopædia Britannica, seventh edition, part 6. Published August 1830.

"From the labours of Waldo and his associates there sprang up an immense body of Christians, averse to the corrupt doctrines of the Church of Rome. They existed in Picardy under the appellation of Picards, and in the south of France, from the Pyrenees to the Alps, under that of Albigenses." Sims's Memorials of Oberlin, with an introductory sketch of the History of Christianity in France.

Waldo made his first appearance in 1160, and died in 1179. The Albigenses, or the Recusants of Thoulouse, Gascony, and

pose, that there ever was a period when the true Church was entirely supplanted in Europe by that of Rome: and it weakens the cause to speak either of the Albigenses of the south of France, or of the Waldenses of Piemont, as descendants of emigrants or settlers from other lands, or as being of no earlier antiquity than the eleventh or twelfth century. Allix, who had thoroughly investigated the question, bitterly lamented the inadvertency of such Protestant authors, as had suffered themselves to be caught, as he expressed it, by the sound of words, and by that calumny of the Romanists, which affected to call these Churches new churches. He will not admit that the Albigenses sprang from the Waldenses, or the Waldenses from the Albigenses, or that either community was indebted to strangers for their reformation, after having been infected by the corruptions of Rome. He insists in his two laborious enquiries into the history of these ancient Churches, that each was the continuation of an original stem, the one having been planted in Narbonese Gaul, and the other in Piemont, at no very distant date from the times of the Apostles.

Had the author of the Histories of the progress and suppression of the Reformation in Italy and Spain followed this opinion, and taken up the

Languedoc, are mentioned in the Canons of the Council of Tours, held in 1163, and in those of the Council of Thoulouse, held in 1119; more than forty years before Waldo was heard of.

thread of his very interesting relation from an earlier period, and, instead of pursuing the steps of those who contend that the "Vaudois, Waldenses, or Albigenses fixed their abode in the southern provinces of France, where they multiplied greatly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries," had he shewn how their numbers began to be greatly diminished in those centuries, he would indeed have undertaken an arduous, but a most thankworthy, and invaluable work [1].

[1] It would be going out of my present course to trace the Albigenses to the æra of the first conversion of Gaul, but I shall be forgiven the digression for shewing what was the opinion of their antiquity, at the time when they were wasted by persecution, and finally exterminated under that truculent executioner Simon de Montfort.

The best authority upon all these questions is the earliest; and there is still in existence the curious narrative of the Chaplain of De Montfort, who accompanied this lord in the murderous crusade against the Albigenses, A.D. 1206. The original copy of this narrative was in Latin, and it was translated into French in the year 1569, with the very charitable and christian motive, as the translator did himself the honour to avow, of persuading the court of France to do unto the Huguenots of that day, as the unsparing Simon had done unto the heretics of Languedoc in his time, viz. to destroy them utterly by fire and sword. The following lines at the beginning of the work, and in praise of it, are a specimen of the spirit in which it was written:

1. Tout cela que commet la secte Geneuoise,
   L'heretique Albigeois auoit plus tost commis:
   Soit meurtre, soit larcin, soit trahison d'amis,
   Dol, opiniatrise, impieté et noise.

Mr. Sharon Turner, one of the most profound, and at the same time the most philosophic of our

2. Le Comte de Mont-fort par l'armée Françoise
A esté le domteur de l'Albigeois soubsmis:
Ton Henry * de Valois, moissonneur d'ennemis,
(O Sorbin) domtera l'heresie Gauloise.

3. Ton liure luy apprend, que Mont-fort enuoyé
Chastia par le feu l'Albigeois desuoyé,
Et le rend un Mont Fort de l'Eglise Romaine.

4. Par les mesmes moyens, que l' Albigeois mutin
Finist, il punira le Caluiniste : afin
Qu'un mesme vice soit puni de mesme peine.

All Romish writers, upon the principle that novelties in point of Christian doctrine are rightly considered fallacies in point of truth, are unwilling to admit more than they can help, upon the antiquity either of the Albigensian or Waldensian Church. Powerful then must have been the force of truth which constrained the original author of this record, and the translator, to insert, without any qualification, such an historical fact as the following: " Ceste Tolose, mais toute Dolose, dès sa première fondation, ainsi qu'on afferme peu souvent, on jamais n'a esté nette de ceste peste ou détestable pestilence de ceste heretique pravité, espandue successivement par le venin d' infidelité super-

* Mr. Sharon Turner has thus summed up his observations on the massacre of St. Bartholomew (Reign of Elizabeth, p. 333. chap. 30.)—" From the preceding facts, it appears that the chief authors of the first part of these massacres were the Duke D'Anjou, afterwards Henry III. and the Duke de Guise." The very scarce volume from which I transcribe the lines above, was dedicated to Henry de Valois, Duke D'Anjou in 1568, four years before the massacre; and in the Epistle Dedicatory, its reverend author strongly recommends the Prince to imitate the religious zeal of St. Dominic and his disciples, and to exterminate heretics, not heresy only, by every possible means."

modern historians, has gone further than Dr. M'Crie, and has not only searched beyond the

stitieuse, des peres aux enfans *." This city of Toulouse, or rather Dolorous city, has never been clear of this detestable pestilence, as it is constantly affirmed, this poisonous heresy, which has emitted the venom of its superstitious infidelity from father to son. In 1218 then, the last date mentioned in this narrative of the exploits of Simon de Montfort, it was the generally received opinion of the day, the tradition collected upon the spot, that the opinions called Albigensian, or heretical, by the Church of Rome, had from time immemorial been the prevailing tenets of the capital of the province. Certainly, they had never changed from the first preaching of Christianity in Gaul, and the natives of Languedoc and Provence did not decline from the apostolical doctrines till they were seduced by the artifices, or forced by the power, of those who had received in their right hand, or in their foreheads, the mark or the name of the beast, " to whom it was given to make war with the saints and to overcome them." " A heresy natural to Toulouse" is another expression of the same ancient author, the monk of Vaux Sernay, with whom every opinion at variance with the papal system was heresy, and who has also furnished us with a singular testimony, that the same doctrines were as " natural" to some of the Alpine tribes as to those of the South of France †, " Instillans ces *blasphemes* aux oreilles des simples: que si le corps de Jésu-Christ contenoit en soy la grandeur des monts des Alpes, il eust esté déjà consommé et anéanti par ceux qui l' eussent mangé." It is clear that a simile of this kind, in allusion to the Romish dogma of the real presence, and drawing its comparison from the Alps, and not from the Pyrenees, the moun-

* Histoire des Albigeois, et Gestes de noble Simon de Mont-fort. Descrite par F. Pierre des Vallées Sernay, Moine de l'Ordre de Cisteaux. P. 2.

† Histoire des Albigeois, &c., p. 3.

confines of Europe for the seeds of Waldensian doctrines, but by a strange mistake, has spoken of the Waldenses themselves, Italians by extraction and location, as if they were inhabitants of Switzerland, "of the Pays de Vaud [1]." His theory upon the subject of the Reformation in Europe is so nearly akin to that of Gibbon, who followed in the track of Muratori and Mosheim, that I will first give an analysis of Gibbon's sentiments before I notice those of Mr. Turner.

Always most subtle and sarcastic when the religion of the cross is to be discussed, the author of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire begins the fifty-fourth chapter, in which he professes to treat of the first enfranchisement from papal domination, with a classification of religious and national character. The Christian natives of Syria and Egypt he supposes to have abandoned their

tains nearest to the Albigenses, was borrowed from the Waldenses, or at any rate from their neighbours of Provence or Dauphiné.

[1] The passage in which this mistake occurs runs thus, "These opinions claim for the Vaudois a distinction from those who held doctrines less Scriptural and rational. The Pays de Vaud has been always distinguished, even to our own times, for a virtuous simplicity," &c.—*History of England during the middle Ages*, Vol. V. book vii. ch. 3. p. 134. The inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud, in Switzerland, of which Lausanne is the capital, are called Vaudois, and have often been confounded with the Protestant natives of the Vaux, Valle, or Valleys of Piemont, in Italy, also called Vaudois.

lives to lazy and contemplative devotion; those of Rome to have aspired to the dominion of the world a second time, and those of Greece to have consumed their wit in the disputes of metaphysical theology. At length, "about the middle of the seventh century, a branch of Manichæans was selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny; their patience was exasperated to despair and rebellion, and their exile from the East scattered over the West the seeds of the Reformation[1]." The mention of the Manichæans leads the historian, rather abruptly, to make some enquiry into the doctrine and history of the Paulicians. It is not clear by what chain of evidence Mr. Gibbon managed to graft the Paulicians upon the Manichæan stock, but after observing that "the numerous sects were finally lost in the odious name of Manichæans," he tells of a reformer, named Constantine, who, in his humble dwelling at Mananalis, at the foot of Mount Taurus, received the present of a Testament from a Syrian captive, about the year 660. Attaching himself to the study of this cherished book, the mountaineer became inspired with a peculiar reverence for the writings of St. Paul, and impressed a few ardent fellow-students with a similar devotion. The silence of their favourite apostle and guide, upon the spurious doctrines of the Eastern Churches, induced these zealous men

[1] Gibbon, Vol. V. p. 520.

to renounce their former errors, and to separate from establishments which had overwhelmed the country with fables and superstitions. "The name of the Paulicians is derived, by their enemies, from some unknown and domestic teacher [1], but I am confident that they gloried in their affinity to the Apostle of the Gentiles."

Without entering into any enquiry into the peculiar creed of these Paulicians of the East, we will cast a glance at the ground, upon which Mr. Gibbon and Mr. Sharon Turner assume the Paulicians to have been the originators of the Reformation in Europe.

A mountaineer is accidentally directed to the study of Scripture, and comparing the superstitions of his Church with the word of God, he renounces communion with that Church, and becomes a reformer. Now granting for a moment that every branch of the Christian Church had become equally corrupt, and that there was no succession any where of pure doctrine and discipline, is it necessary to travel out of Europe into Asia, in quest of persons who should be able to reform the Church? Might not the same natu-

[1] Gibbon fell into some confusion of names and dates upon this subject. The term Paulicians is more likely to have been derived from Paul, the heretical Bishop of Antioch, at a much earlier period, against whose opinions the provincial synod protested, in an epistle preserved in the seventh book of Eusebius.

ral and simple process take place in the West as well as in the East[1]? Through seven or eight pages of beautiful but deceptive narrative, Mr. Gibbon conducts his Paulician teachers (whom he represents in one place[2] as condemning the memory and opinions of the Manichæans, and in another place[3] as holding two of the most unorthodox of the principles of the Manichæans) into the regions of Pontus, Armenia, and the adjacent provinces, arms them and their followers against their imperial sovereign, unites them in alliance with the Saracens, and finally reduces them, after many alternations of success and defeat, to a handful of malcontents, whom Constantine Copronymus translated from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace. "By this emigration," he proceeds, "their doctrine was introduced and diffused in Europe[4]."—"And in the beginning of the thirteenth century their pope, or primate (a manifest corruption), resided in the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed by his vicars the filial congregations of France and Italy[5]." Having advanced thus far

[1] It may be proved, by reference to the canons of councils, that corruptions first found their way into the Church from the East, and that, with some few exceptions, the European Churches remained pure long after those of Asia had embraced error.

[2] Gibbon, Vol. V. p. 522.
[3] Ibid. p. 524.
[4] Ibid. p. 531.
[5] Ibid. p. 533.

upon the authority of Matthew Paris [1], as quoted by Ducange, and having lent his pages to the monstrous inconsistency, that the independent Churches of France and Italy, which refused obedience to a foreign bishop of Rome, yielded submission to a distant stranger of Bulgaria, Gibbon is unwilling to stop, and imagines three roads by which his Paulician reformers may find their way into the heart of Europe. I. By accompanying the French and German caravans on their journey back from Jerusalem, by the course of the Danube, and by disguising their names and heresy. II. By serving under the Byzantine standards, and by being transported into the Greek provinces

[1] Du Plessis quotes Matthew Paris in a very different sense, and speaks of the Albigensian and French Reformers making proselytes of the Bulgarians. "Matthew Paris saith further, that they spread themselves so far as into Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and these took such root, that they drew unto them many Bishops, and thither came one Bartholomew, from Carcassone, in the country of Narbonne, in France, unto whom they all flocked, and he created Bishops and ordained Churches. These words are taken out of the letters that the Cardinal of Port, the Pope's legate, wrote to the Archbishop of Rome, full of abashment, and he calleth him anti-pope, without imputing unto him any other crime or doctrine; namely, because this Bartholomew re-established the order of the Churches anew in those countries, and laboured to set true pastors in the place of false." See Lennard's translation of Du Plessis's Mystery of Iniquity, 51st Progression. The passage in Matthew Paris, referred to by Gibbon and Du Plessis, occurs sub anno 1223, page 219.

of Italy and Sicily. III. By entering the republic of Venice as merchants and traders [1].

There is no snare into which learned men may not fall, who run after a derivation. In such a pursuit they often chase an *ignis fatuus* through treacherous and uncertain ground, rather than follow a plain and secure path. The discussions of Muratori and Mosheim [2], upon the connection between the Oriental and the French and Italian sufferers for conscience sake, had fastened upon the mind of this historian, and without pausing to reflect upon the absurdity of making an elaborate search among strangers for that, which may be easily found at home, he hurried on till he arrived at the notable discovery, that the first spark of the Reformation was kindled in Languedoc and Provence by Paulicians, whom he had taken the trouble to bring from the waters of the Euphrates to those of the Rhone and Garonne. "It was in the country of the Albigeois, in the southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were most deeply implanted [3]."—"The vi-

[1] Gibbon, Vol. V. p. 534.

[2] We are not to complain so much of Muratori, a Romanist, as of Mosheim, a Protestant, for his leaning to prejudiced opinions upon this subject. No thanks are due to Mosheim for any light which he has thrown upon the history of Albigenses or Waldenses. He speaks of them as "sects" that rose up in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and is very justly censured for his many inaccuracies, by his last editors.

[3] Gibbon, Vol. V. p. 335.

sible assemblies of the Paulicians or Albigeois, were extirpated by fire and sword, and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or Catholic conformity. But the invisible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the western world. In the State, in the Church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul, who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology [1]."

Such, according to Mr. Gibbon, was the origin of Protestantism [2] and of the Reformation, and of the Bible rule of faith, and we have to thank emigrant Paulicians for these blessings, and not the succession of faithful men, who were found at different times and places, from age to age, some more particularly in Italy, and some in France, opposing themselves to corruptions, as they arose in the Christian Churches of Europe, recording their testimony to the truth, in pages which have been transmitted to us, and continuing the holy line that connects the first and the nineteenth centuries.

But what say Gibbon's authorities as to the period of the arrival of these Paulicians from the

[1] Gibbon, Vol. V. p. 535.

[2] Mr. Browning, in his history of the Huguenots, has added one more to the number of those who have followed Gibbon in his erroneous statement. See Vol. I. p. 1, 2, 3.

East? Let us see if it was not considerably posterior to the promulgation of doctrines avowed in Italy, of the very same kind as those afterwards avowed by the persecuted Albigenses and Waldenses.

Mosheim confesses "It is difficult to fix the precise period when the Paulicians began to take refuge in Europe; it is however certain, from the most authentic testimonies, that a considerable number of that sect were, about the middle of this century (the eleventh), settled in Lombardy, Insubria, and principally in Milan; and that many of them led a wandering life in France, Germany, and other countries[1]." Mosheim then does not pretend to fix an earlier date than about the middle of the eleventh century, 1050. Muratori, whom Mosheim and Gibbon both follow and cite, uses the term Manichæans, when he speaks of these wandering reformers, and the earliest date that he attempts to assign for the introduction of their opinions into Italy and France is 1027. Having first broadly stated that the seeds of Manichæism began to be scattered in Italy after the year 1000[2], he proceeds to relate, upon the testimony of Rodulphus Glaber, (lib. 3. chap. 8.)

[1] Mosheim, Century xi. part ii. chap. 5. Mosheim's earliest authority cited is Moneta, who lived about the year 1225: he adds, "We might refer to Glaber Rodolf." Glaber flourished in the eleventh century.

[2] Muratori Dissertatio Sexagesima, tom. 5. p. 82.

that "about the year 1027, this wild heresy was brought into Gaul by a certain woman who came out of Italy[1]." Nothing can be more vague than this kind of evidence, but taking the period here assigned for the arrival of the Paulician Reformers, between 1000 and 1027, we will set against it the authorities adduced by Allix, in the eleven first chapters of his Remarks upon the Ancient Church of Piemont, upon which he thus observes, "This being laid down, I say we have already found a body of men in Italy before the year 1026, who believed contrary to the opinions of the Church of Rome, and who highly condemned their errors; a body of men which sent its members about in divers places to oppose themselves to the superstitions that reigned throughout all the West." P. 110.

This is not the place for doing more than touch upon the evidence, upon which I am prepared to shew, that native Italian preachers and writers professed the very opinions, for which the Waldenses suffered in after days, long before the remotest date, which can in any way be applied to the introduction of Paulician doctrines. The Romish historians and apologists may bring ten thousand Oriental Reformers into any province of Europe, if they please, but we shall prove, by and bye, that the pure tenets of the Apostles were preserved in our own quarter of the globe, and that

[1] Ibid. p. 83.

Rome was controverted indignantly without any aid from the East. It is therefore a matter of deep regret, that so able an enquirer as Mr. Sharon Turner, and one so candid and friendly to truth, should have been captivated by the same theory which led Gibbon astray, and that he should have pursued it, in his investigation of the history of the Waldenses, and the origin of the Reformation, till he brought it to the same end.

In a chapter entitled " History of the Principal Attacks on Papal Christianity, from the 8th to the 14th Century [1]," Mr. Turner seems to give the place of honor, not to the assertors and vindicators of Primitive Christianity, as it had been cherished by the descendants of those who had received it from the early successors of the Apostles, in Europe, or from those who preached it before it was corrupted, but to Asiatic and Mohamedan censors. " The progress of the Arabian imposture first disturbed the deep serene, in which both the priests and the people were with equal sincerity, because with equal ignorance, and with equal satisfaction, reposing. From the hour of its portentous birth, Mohamedanism, notwithstanding its own absurdities, was the unceasing censor of perverted Christianity; it fiercely accused the

[1] History of England during the Middle Ages, Vol. V. book 7. chap. 3. 3d edition.

Christian world of idolatry and infidelity, of folly, superstition and imposture [1]."

The spurious Christianity, which the Moslems witnessed in some regions, deserved to be so accused, but the sincerity and zeal, with which the true servants of Christ censured the errors of the Papal system in the West, were at least equal in degree to the fierceness, with which it was assailed by the followers of the Prophet in the East, and this passed at the same juncture of time. "It was at least a chronological inference," Mr. Turner continues, "that after Mohamedanism had been established in Asia, Africa, and Spain, and after the crusades and other intercourse had brought it fully to the consideration of Europe, reforming opinions abounded in its vicinity, and rapidly spread; and a strong dissatisfaction arose at the wealth, pomp, and luxury of the papal hierarchy. The sciences cultivated by the Spanish Arabs drew inquisitive men from all parts of Europe to their cities and schools, and these were among the foremost in diffusing new ideas among their contemporaries. Gerbert, one of these students, in the tenth century [2], was bold enough to call the Pope Anti-

[1] Ibid. p. 118.

[2] For proof that Europe did not want Arabian instruction to rouse her against Romish pride, see Leger's Account of the Protest of Italian Bishops against the Tyranny of Rome, 9th Century. p. 137.

christ. It was from the schools in France which he had planted, that Berengarius arose, who attacked transubstantiation in the succeeding age [1]." "That the establishment of the Mohamedans in Spain had a direct effect on the minds of many of the Spanish Christians, cannot be doubted [2]." Granted, but as so great stress is here laid upon the opinions, which are said to have spread in Spain after the Mohamedan conquests, I take the opportunity of reminding my readers, that Vigilantius, who was ordained priest at Barcelona, in Spain, distinguished himself two hundred years before Mohamed's name was known, by protesting against some of those very corruptions of which Mr. Sharon Turner speaks, viz. against the veneration of relics and images, and the adoration of saints [3], and similar abuses, which were in his time increasing in the Eastern Churches, and which have since been sanctioned by that of Rome. Upon the subject of papal and pontifical usurpation, it is a clear point in history [4], that the episcopal

[1] Ibid. p. 120. Usher de Suc. Ecc. chap. 2. p. 51—53. shews that the novel Romish doctrine of the real presence was disputed by Italians and Anglo-Saxons in the 10th century. Joannes Scotus disputed it in the 9th.

[2] Ibid. p. 121.

[3] Jerome contra Vigil. Epist. 53. and Dungal. apud Bib. Mag. tom. 9. part 2. p. 880.

[4] See Geddes' Dissertation on the Papal Supremacy, chiefly with relation to the Ancient Spanish Church. Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. 2.

hierarchy of Spain, under the Gothic princes, before the Moorish conquests, was not only independent of all foreign jurisdiction, but was subject to the crown, in the same manner as the episcopal hierarchy in England is now. And as to images, the Spaniards were so far from deriving their hatred of idolatry from the Moors, that previously to the invasion of those barbarians, the Spanish Church was entirely free from the pollution of image worship. It was forbidden by the Council of Eliberis, A.D. 305, Canon 36, to have any pictures or representations of adorable beings in churches. It is scarcely necessary to add, that episcopal arrogance and assumption of inordinate power were declared to be marks of Antichrist, without any lights derived from Arabian teachers, and that too by some of the popes themselves. The Council of Chalcedon, said Gregory I. in one of his epistles, A.D. 595, offered this honour (the title of Universal Bishop) to the bishops of Rome, but it was refused, lest they should appear to be arrogating [1] episcopacy to themselves alone,

[1] It is a singular proof of carelessness in Mosheim that he has spoken of the Waldenses as a new sect that arose in the 12th century, in his notice of the origin of the Waldenses, vol. 3. part 2. chap. 5. section x.; whereas in vol. 2. part 2. chap. 2. he assigns them a conspicuous part among the opponents of papal supremacy in the seventh century. The whole passage is so much to the point upon the question in which I venture to declare myself at issue with Mr. Turner, that I insert it at length.

and taking it away from the rest of their brethren[1].

I can readily agree with the opinion "that Leo the imperial iconoclast was urged to his resolution of destroying the images in the Christian churches, by a native of the country which the Saracens were occupying[2]"; that Claude, the Spaniard, afterwards bishop of Turin, the zealous destroyer of images, might have learnt by his intercourse with the Mohamedans in Spain to abominate more and more the use of images for purposes of worship; but I am anxious that the readers of such statements should

"The ancient Britons and Scots persisted in the maintenance of their religious liberty; and neither the threats nor promises of the legate of Rome could engage them to submit to the decrees and authority of the ambitious pontiff, as appears manifestly from the testimony of Bede. The churches of Gaul and Spain attributed as much authority to the bishop of Rome, as they thought suitable to their own dignity, and consistent with their interests: even in Italy his supreme authority was obstinately rejected, since the Bishop of Ravenna, and other prelates, refused an implicit obedience to his orders. Besides all this, multitudes of private persons expressed publicly, and without the least hesitation, their abhorrence of the vices, and particularly of the lordly ambition of the Roman pontiffs: and it is highly probable, that the Valdenses, or Vaudois, had already in this century (the 7th), retired into the valleys of Piemont, that they might be more at liberty to oppose the tyranny of those imperious prelates."

[1] Baron. An. vol. 8. p. 96. Sub An. 595.

[2] Turner's History of England during the Middle Ages, vol. 5. p. 120.

have it brought to their recollection, that many years before Leo was born, or the Saracens were instructed by the Koran, European bishops, Martin of Tours, in the fourth century, and Serenus [1] of Marseilles, in the sixth, were demolishing images, with a hatred of idolatry sufficient for the edification of the Christian churches in the West; and that Claude [2] was first moved to vindicate the majesty of the Most High, by lessons learnt from Scripture, and not from the example or the instructions of Arabian metaphysicians. The powerful impulse, the incipient suggestions proceeded from his study of the truth, where only it is to be found, in the Bible. This is the account which Claude gave of himself; and his own contemporaries, so far from attributing his attack, upon what he considered idolatrous rites, to any influence which Mohamedan doctors might have had upon his mind, ascribed his doctrines to an erroneous interpretation of Scripture, which they alleged he pretended to quote without being scholar enough to understand [3].

[1] Epis. Greg. 1. Liber. 9. Ep. 9.

[2] "In support of his principal tenet, Claude could plead the authority of one of the most venerable councils of his native church, which ordained that there should be no pictures in Churches, and that nothing shall be painted on the walls which might be worshipped or adored." Dr. M'Crie's Hist. of Prog. and Sup. of Reformation in Spain, p. 9.

[3] Dungalus resp. adv. Claud. Taur. Bib. Patr. tom. 9. part 2. p. 866—895.

Mr. Turner, in the continuation of his hypothesis, observes, "What Claude, of Turin, failed to accomplish, was attempted in the twelfth century by those persons, who, under various names, of which the most celebrated were the Albigenses and the Waldenses, the Cathari and the Paterini, at the very period when the predominance of the papal monarchy seemed to be most firmly established in Europe, began to prepare the human mind to overthrow it. This great and beneficial change originated, as usual, from the humblest source, and was made principally operative by the severity of persecution. It had also an original connection, both in locality and intercourse, with the Arabian conquests [1]."

Mr. Turner next introduces the same tale, which Gibbon has told so beautifully, of the Manichæans, and the Paulicians in Armenia, and concludes thus, "It is agreed by the best historians, that they were transplanted into Thrace, that they penetrated into Bulgaria, that they were introduced into Italy and France, and under various names, of which the Albigenses is the most prominent, spread through Europe. It was in the eleventh century, that being again attacked in Thrace, they migrated into Lombardy, France, and Germany [2]."

The references which Mr. Turner gives, as to

[1] History of England during the Middle Ages, vol. 5. p. 123.
[2] Ibid. p. 126.

his authorities, are to Petrus Siculus, Gibbon, Mosheim, Mr. Jones's History of the Waldenses, and Mariana. Petrus Siculus, who flourished in the ninth century, is cited for the history of the Paulicians, while they were yet in Armenia or Thrace. Mariana's testimony goes no further than to state, that the Albigenses were thought by an ancient writer, to have entered France out of Spain, and Mr. Turner reasons upon it, that "it is not unlikely that as the Paulicians had been nursed among the Saracens in Asia, some of their emigrations took shelter in Saracen Spain[1]." Mr. Jones professes to have collected from Gibbon and Mosheim, the account which he gives of the Paulicians in his history of the Waldenses. Gibbon and Mosheim, both derive their principal authority from Muratori, and Muratori, as I have already shewn, page 27, has nothing but vague evidence to adduce. Upon such foundation rests the history of the migration of the Paulicians into Europe in the eleventh century. In the subsequent progress of this enquiry, wherein Mr. Sharon Turner speaks of the Waldenses, he does justice to the noble views and feelings which they entertained, and shews by reference[2] to their "Noble Lesson," that they did not combine the Paulician or Manichæan errors with their purer senti-

[1] History of England during the Middle Ages, p. 127. in a note.

[2] Ibid. p. 131.

ments of Christianity. It is that part of his history only in which he derives the Waldenses from "Paulician ancestors," which I am disposed to question, and which I am confident he will do his subject the justice to review with the same candour, which he has shewn upon other matters of investigation.

"As their Paulician ancestors had incurred the hostilities of the Grecian hierarchy, so these Albigenses and Waldenses had to endure a persecution as ferocious from the Roman pontiff[1]". "It may be thought strange that the opinions of the Waldenses, some so just, should have sprung from a little corner of Armenia, and in the mind of a Manichæan[2]."

It is to these and similar passages that I feel constrained to offer my objections, because I think it strange, and injurious to the cause of Protestantism, and beneficial to that of Romanism, to call the opinions of the Waldenses new to Europe in the eleventh century, and to seek out of our own quarter of the globe for the origin of attacks on Papal Christianity. That Europe wanted no foreign agents to give an impulse to the public mind against the corruptions of Rome, and that Rome had never introduced the least of her corruptions without rousing some indignant spirits in opposition to her, will sufficiently appear from that which I am hastening to explain.

[1] History of England during the Middle Ages, p. 134.

[2] Ibid. p. 137.

I have now brought the matter under discussion to this point. The opponents of the Waldenses in the eleventh and twelfth centuries endeavoured to prove, that their refusal to be in communion with the church of Rome, arose out of some new and strange doctrines brought by wandering innovators from the East. The charge is reiterated by subsequent Romish controversialists, and though the first authorities for the allegation did not establish it by a sufficient chain of evidence, yet it has been repeated from time to time, until it has been believed by several of the most able of the Protestant historians. This misrepresentation is to be contradicted, and it is to be shewn, that the Waldenses stood in no need of strangers to enlighten them; that they were, at the very time in question, enjoying a radiance of spiritual light, which had continued to shine upon them for many generations, and which enabled them to keep free from the bondage of the bishops of Rome.

The facts which favour the assumed antiquity and purity of the Waldensian Church, are,

I. The traditions always current among the Waldenses themselves.

II. The situation of their country.

III. The testimony of history gathered from their adversaries, or from indifferent and unprejudiced early writers.

IV. The testimony of their own documents.

SECTION I.

THE TRADITIONS ALWAYS CURRENT AMONG THE WALDENSES THEMSELVES.

It is providentially fortunate, that these traditions have been preserved for the most part in the pages of writers opposed to the Waldenses: they might otherwise have been disputed. The few Waldensian documents which have escaped destruction would not have sufficed to satisfy the incredulous upon this point. Of these few, the "Nobla Leyçon [1]," a poem of the date A.D. 1100, presents the following proof of the opinions, which the Waldenses of that early period entertained of the antiquity of their Church.

"Now after the Apostles, were certain teachers, who went on teaching the way of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Some of whom are found at this present day, but they are known to very few."

After a few lines describing the life and conversation of such teachers, the poem proceeds, "Such an one is called a Vaudois" (Vaudés).

A manuscript treatise of the same date as that of an ancient catechism, which is also dated A.D. 1100, speaks of the Waldenses as having

[1] More of this valuable record hereafter. See page 132.

maintained the same doctrines, "from time immemorial, in continued descent from father to son, even from the times of the Apostles."

Transcripts of these treatises are to be found in the first Book of Leger's "Histoire de l'Eglise Vaudoise." The originals were entrusted to Samuel Morland, and by him deposited in the library of the University of Cambridge, after his return from the valleys of Piemont, in 1658. I am aware that the period of these treatises is somewhat contested, and that Allix, who felt assured of the antiquity of the Nobla Leyçon, was himself inclined to believe that the others were not written before the middle of the 13th century.

It may be granted that some of the identical copies from which Leger transcribed were not written before the middle of the 13th century, (1250), or even the 14th; but there is strong internal evidence to prove, that these treatises contained passages, which had previously formed part of religious manuscripts preserved among the Waldenses at a period more remote. For example, one of the treatises in question enumerates the various corruptions of the Roman church; it alludes to the doctrine of the real presence, and to the adoration of the Virgin Mary, and of saints. But it does not make mention of the terms transubstantiation or canonization [1], nor does it speak of the service of the rosary.

[1] "Item canonizationes contemnunt." So wrote Reinerus

The term transubstantiation, hitherto unknown, was introduced and established by pope Innocent the Third[1]: the rosary was invented by the inquisitor Dominic; at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Such notorious and offensive abuses, to say nothing of the institution of the horrible tribunal of the inquisition, which was co-eval with them, could scarcely have failed to find a place in treatises professedly written upon such subjects, had those treatises been originally composed posterior to these audacities against the understanding and religious rights of men.

I have Leger's authority for relating, (see book i. p. 153.) that the French historian De Serres, under his notice of the year 1223, said that he had in his library an old manuscript written in Gothic characters upon parchment, which set forth the reasons of the Waldenses for refusing communion with the Roman church. This manuscript made mention of purgatory, images, the invocation of saints, the sacrifice of the mass, *transubstantiation*, the authority and decrees of the pope, &c. Hence I should conclude, that as the

concerning the Vaudois in 1250. As neither of these treatises contain the same term, it is to be inferred that they were composed before it came into use. The first papal bull in which the word canonization occurs was in 1165.

[1] Ed. Albertinus de Eucharistia, lib. 3. p. 972. Transubstantiation was made an article of faith by the council of Lateran, 1215.

Waldenses took the earliest notice of this corrupt doctrine, after it was formally promulgated by pope Innocent the Third under that term, that treatises upon kindred subjects, which made no mention of it, were composed at an earlier period of time.

Robert Olivetan, a native of the valleys, who translated the Bible into French in 1535, addressed his book to the Vaudois Church in these terms. "It is to thee I present and dedicate this precious treasure, in the name of friends and brethren, who ever since they were blessed and enriched therewith by the apostles and ambassadors of Christ, have still enjoyed and possessed the same." Morland, p. 17.

A petition presented to Philibert Emanuel, duke of Savoy, and prince of Piemont, by the Waldenses, in 1559, contained the following assertion[1]: "We likewise beseech your royal highness to consider, that this religion we profess, is not only ours, nor hath it been invented by men of late years, as it is falsely reported, but it is the religion of our fathers, grandfathers, and great grandfathers, and other yet more ancient predecessors of ours, and of the blessed martyrs, confessors, prophets and apostles, and if any can prove the contrary, we are ready to subscribe, and yield thereunto." Leger relates that all the pe-

[1] Morland, p. 228.

titions and addresses of the Vaudois to their sovereigns, from the earliest times, contained a sentence to the same effect, stating that they had been in the enjoyment of the liberty of conscience "da ogni tempo, da tempo immemoriale," from time immemorial. Leger, b. i. p. 158.

The traditions of which their enemies have made mention, and inscribed upon their controversial pages, or public deeds, are quite as express.

Bernard of Clairvaux, who died in 1153, speaks, in his 65th and 66th Sermons upon the Canticles, of the Nonconformists, who were then disturbing the Latin Church. He confounds separatists from Rome, and perverters of scriptural truth, under the common charge of heresy; but in one of his descriptions he seems to have had his eye upon the Churches of Piemont, while he mingles all kinds of calumny with their real opinions.

"They are rustics, and laymen, and thoroughly contemptible. What heresy has not its heresiarch? The Manichæans had Manes for their leader and instructor; the Sabellians, Sabellius; the Arians, Arius; the Eunomians, Eunomius; the Nestorians, Nestorius. Thus all other pests of this sort are known to have had each its own master, from whom it derives its origin and name. But by what name or title will you distinguish these? By none, since they did not receive it of men (fancy not that they received it by revelations

from Jesus Christ) but rather, and beyond all doubt, (as the Holy Spirit predicted) by the instigation and fraud of devils speaking lies and forbidding to marry."

"I am aware they boast that they and they alone are the body of Christ. They boast that they are the successors of the Apostles, and call themselves Apostolicals." Bernard, Ser. 66.

This is exactly what the Waldenses have always said of themselves, that they are not sectarians—that they derive their faith from no heresiarch—that they have adhered to the primitive doctrine, in regular succession from the Apostles. Apostolicals is the term which the Prior Rorenco applied to the Waldenses, the immemorial natives of the valleys of Piemont.

The next testimony which I shall adduce, is that of Ecbert, a writer who flourished A.D. 1160, and whose evidence corresponds very closely with that of the Waldenses themselves, which I have inserted above, "that they were known to very few." "Behold, there have been some secluded men, perverse, and perverters, who during many ages, have in their lurking places and obscurities, corrupted the Christian faith of simple men [1]."

Reinerus the inquisitor, who lived a century afterwards, records, "These (the Leonists or Waldenses—he used the term synonymously) are

[1] Bib. Patr. tom. 12. p. 898.

the most dangerous of all heretics, for three reasons: First, because this sect is of the longest duration, for some say that it has continued to flourish since the time of Sylvester, others from the time of the Apostles [1]."

Sylvester was bishop of Rome in 317, and this passage in Reinerus singularly corroborates the authenticity of the Nobla Leyçon. In that poem it is intimated, that the disinclination of the Waldenses to all religious communion with the Romish Church was owing to corruptions, which began under Sylvester. I refer to the passage beginning "All the popes which have been from Sylvester to this present day, &c."

Later polemical writings and public documents have borne witness to the currency of the same tradition. A bull of Pope Innocent in 1487, anathematises "the Waldenses who have for a *length of time* endeavoured in Piemont to ensnare the sheep belonging unto God [2]."

The monk Belvidere, in his inquisitorial reports,

[1] Bib. Patr. tom. 13. p. 299.

[2] It is singular that the very term "jam dudum," which a pope in 1487 applied to the prevalence of non-conformity with Rome, in Piemont, had been previously applied to the existence of a similar heresy in France by pope Alexander the 3d., so long back as 1167, in the council of Tours, "damnanda hæresis quæ jam dudum emersit." The council of Lateran, 1179, denounces it as old, deeply rooted, and widely extended.

laments that "these heretics have been found at all periods of history in the valley of Angrogna[1]."

Marcus Aurelius Rorenco, the grand prior of St. Roch, when he was commissioned to make enquiries concerning them, under the title of "A Narrative of the Introduction of Heresy in the Valleys of Piemont[2]," delivered in a return which stated, that "those Apostolicals as they called themselves, were of an origin, of which nothing certain could be said, furthermore than that Claude might have detached them from the Church in the eighth century, and that they were not a new sect in the ninth and tenth centuries." If this be true, what becomes of the theory, that the Paulician emigrants of the eleventh century were the founders of the Waldensian sect?

Claude Seyssel, (A.D. 1500,) archbishop of Turin, spoke of them as "the Vaudois sect, which originated with one Leon, a devout man in the time of Constantine the Great[3]."

Cassini, an Italian priest, testifies that he found it handed down, that "the Vaudois were as ancient as the Christian Church[4]."

Campian the Jesuit collected, that "they were said to be more ancient than the Roman Church[5]."

Such are the testimonies which the friends and

[1] Leger, d. pp. 149. 169.
[2] Ibid. pp. 15. 144. 173.
[3] Ibid. pp. 15. 171.
[4] Ibid. p. 15.
[5] Ibid. pp. 15. 171.

adversaries of the Waldenses render to the fact, that it was traditionally held among them, that their origin was coeval with the first introduction of Christianity in the valleys of Piemont. "And is it not extraordinary," as the historian Leger says, "that it has never once happened, that any of the dukes of Savoy, or their ministers, should have offered the least contradiction to the pretensions of their Vaudois subjects? Again and again it has been asserted by them, 'We are descendants of those, who from father to son have preserved entire the apostolical faith in the valleys which we now occupy.' Their pretensions have been passed over in silence. They have been suffered to repeat their demands from reign to reign, and to carry them to the feet of their sovereigns:—'Permit us to enjoy that free exercise of our religion which we have exercised from time out of mind, and before the dukes of Savoy became princes of Piemont.' I have still the copy of a remonstrance, in which I myself inserted these very words, 'Dinanzi che li Duchi di Savoya fossero Principi di Piemonte,' &c. &c. and which the President Truchi, the ablest man in the state, has endeavoured to answer in every other point but this; he never dared to touch upon our antiquity. And formerly, in the year 1559," Leger continues, "when Emanuel Philibert was told, that his Waldensian petitioners professed the faith, which had been handed down

to them by their forefathers from the time of the martyrs, and apostles, would that great prince and his court have endured to be so told by these poor people, if there had been one particle of truth to be discovered to the contrary, by the ministers of his royal highness, or by his ecclesiastics, or if any of them could have maintained the reverse, and shewn, that they did not descend from father to son from the times of the martyrs and confessors, and holy Apostles [1] ?"

SECTION II.

THE SECOND ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THE WALDENSIAN CHURCH RESTS UPON THE SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY.

There is an Alpine region upon the frontiers of France and Italy, which has been long inhabited by a race of Christians, who have persevered in asserting, from age to age, that their Church has continued the same at all periods of ecclesiastical history; that it has never acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and that it is a pure branch of the ancient primitive Church :—and

[1] Leger, d. i. p. 164.

who have reiterated in the ears of their princes the unpalatable and unrebutted boast, "Our religion was the religion of our forefathers, dwelling in the valleys which we now occupy, before you and your dynasty were established in Piemont."

Now is there any thing in the situation of the valleys, which renders it probable, that the Gospel was preached there at an early period? They lie within the direct, the nearest, and the most easy line of communication between those Italian and Gallic provinces, which we know to have been christianized in the second century at the latest. Tradition says, that the apostle St. Paul went from Rome to Spain by this line of communication. Whether he did or not will most probably ever remain an open question; but this is certain, that there were very frequent journeys made by the early Christians from Rome and Milan [1], and from the cities which lay between these capitals of Italy, to Lyons, and to the South of France. They would naturally take the most practicable and frequented road, and one of these traversed, or skirted the territory of the Waldenses, whose ancestors were therefore likely to receive a knowledge of the Gos-

[1] Travellers from Milan would pursue their route through Turin, and the valleys of Perosa and Pragela, and over Mount Genevre. Those from Rome would take the same course, or that of the Maritime Alps. The latter would conduct them through Provence and Dauphiné, where a branch of the Waldensian Church flourished till the reign of Louis XIV.

pel from wayfaring believers, who travelled by the passes in the immediate vicinity of their habitations; or from zealous missionaries,who would turn out of their way to preach redemption to the more remote and secluded mountaineers[1].

Another probability is found in the persecution which raged under Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and which drove many of the Christian fugitives from Milan, on one side, and from Lyons and Vienne on the other, to the Alpine retreats, which lay at a nearly equal distance from those scenes of cruelty. This persecution raged most fiercely in the year 168, according to some; and in 177 or 179, according to others.

It is recorded that Irenæus, who was afterwards Bishop of Lyons, was despatched to Rome, from Lyons, while he was yet a Presbyter, to communicate the state of that Gallic Church to the brethren at Rome[2]. Irenæus[3] himself, therefore, a disciple of Polycarp, who was the hearer of

[1] "We know," says Neander, "from the account of Pliny to Trajan, from the notice in Clemens, and from the relations in Justin, that in many neighbourhoods there were country communities of Christians very early. Origen says expressly, that many made a point of going through, not only the towns, but he κωμαι και επαυλεις. The great number of Χωρεπισκοποι, in particular neighbourhoods, also proves this." See Rose's valuable work on Progressive Christianity, p. 154.

[2] Eusebius, 5. 4.

[3] Jerome calls Irenæus, "Vir Apostolicus." Basil speaks of him as ὁ εγγυς των αποστολων γενομενος.

St. John the Apostle, might have trodden the mountain paths of the Vaudois, in his journey to the metropolis of the world, and might have preached that apostolic faith, which abided pure in the wilderness, when it became corrupted in cities. There is a temptation to fix upon this Father, as a person not unlikely to have been, by himself or his clergy, the first herald of the Gospel to the natives of our subalpine valleys, which is quite irresistible. His diocese extended to, and perhaps comprised the chain of mountains, among which the forefathers of the Vaudois dwelt [1]. His sentiments were, in a peculiar degree, those which the Waldenses, on either side of the Alps, have perseveringly maintained. This appears in his opposition to all doctrines which could not be supported by Scripture, and which, resting as he said, (quoting 1 Tim. i. 4.) upon "fables and endless genealogies, minister questions, rather than godly edifying [2]." It appears in his opposition also to every tradition, which could not be distinctly traced to the Apostles [3];—in his declaration that Scripture alone is sufficiently clear and perfect for our instruction in the faith [4];—in his accusations against those, who made use of images and pictures for purposes of worship,

[1] See Pagi. Critica Histor. Chronol. Sub An. 374.

[2] Irenæus contra Hær. Præfatio, lib. i.

[3] Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 3.

[4] Ibid. Frag. lib. ii. cap. 47.

and who invoked angels and beatified spirits [1]; —and above all, in his opinion, that the Bishop of one Church has no right to lord it over other Churches, or to interrupt the harmony of the universal body of Christ, by obstinate attempts to introduce uniformity of discipline [2]. He sharply reproved Victor, the Roman pontiff, in the name of his brethren of Gaul [3], says Eusebius, and in a synodical epistle, for disturbing the peace of the church by a presumptuous endeavour to settle the paschal controversy by his authority [4].

[1] Irenæus contra Hær. Præfatio, lib. i. 24; and lib. ii. 57.

[2] Eusebius, lib. v. 24.

[3] Thirteen Gallic Bishops were present at the Synod held by Irenæus. See Cave, 193.

[4] The respectful letters which were occasionally addressed by Irenæus, and other provincial prelates, to the Bishops of Rome, have been triumphantly adduced by Papists as so many proofs of submission to the Pontifical chair. They were nothing more than what might be expected towards residents at the metropolis of the empire. The letters for information and counsel, which the Bishops of Durham and Winchester sometimes write to the Bishop of London, might, with equal propriety, be cited as evidence of the supremacy of the Bishop of London.

The question of Primacy, which the Roman Pontiffs succeeded in making a question of Supremacy, was well understood in the early times to refer to nothing more than the rank or station of dignity, not the power of jurisdiction, which was assumed upon different occasions; and this depended upon the rank of episcopal cities in the scale of nations and provinces. Hence, when it was referred to the Council of Turin in 397, to decide upon the primacy between the Bishops of Arles and Vienne, the

Not wishing, however, to push that part of my hypothesis too far, which supposes the inhabitants of the valleys to have been christianized in the time of Irenæus, I will consent to give their conversion a later date, and to assign the event when times were more favourable to the extension of the Gospel, and when communication was more easy and frequent between the Christians of France and Italy. We will take the fourth century. It is quite early enough for our purpose, and the events of this æra are in support of the argument, which rests upon the situation of the Valleys of Piemont.

In the fourth century flourished Hilary, the Gallic Bishop of Poitiers, and Ambrose, the Italian Bishop of Milan, both eminent men, who are known to have made repeated journeys, the one from Gaul to Italy, and the other from Italy to Gaul.

The Council of Arles, in the year 314, brought

resolution ran thus. Let him take the rank whose city is the metropolis of the province. " Qui ex eis adprobaverit suam civitatem esse metropolim, is totius provinciæ honorem primatus obtineat." See Sismondi Galliæ Concilia, tom. i. p. 28.

The primacy of the Bishop of Rome arose from his connexion with the capital of the empire, and it was willingly and quietly conceded. When the seat of empire was transferred to Constantinople, the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople were declared to be equal; and soon afterwards began the controversies as to priority in rank, which ended in that assumption of supreme jurisdiction, which has divided Christendom.

Bishops and Priests across the Alps, from Cisalpine Gaul and Italy to the banks of the Rhone. The Councils of Milan, in 346 and 354, invited the Gallic clergy to traverse the mountain passes from Arles, Embrun, Vienne, and Lyons, and the intermediate neighbourhood.

In 379 a Council was held at Aquileia, in the north of Italy, at which ecclesiastical delegates, of different orders, attended from Lyons, Grenoble, Orange, Marseilles, and Nice[1]. And in 397 a Council was convoked at Turin, at the request of the Gallic Bishops, to decide some questions concerning the Churches of Vienne, Arles, Marseilles, and other Churches of the five Provinces west of the Alps[2].

Here we have mention of direct intercourse between the Clergy of France and Italy. How many of these may have been moved by the spirit of proselytism, to preach Christ wherever they went?

That the path of some of them led immediately through part of the Vaudois district there can be no doubt. The Council of Turin at least must have invited many to choose that route. "This road," said a writer of the fourth century[3], when speaking of that which conducted over Mount Genevre, or the Cottian Alps, "is the central, the most

[1] Fleury, Liv. 18.

[2] See Sismondi Galliæ Concilia, tom. i. p. 27.

[3] Ammian. Marcel. lib. xv.

commodious, and the most celebrated of all the passes that lead out of Gaul into Italy."

Seeing then that there are traces enough of frequent communication between the Christian inhabitants of the countries east and west of the Alps, in the fourth century, let us further examine the probability that their course did actually approach the region of our enquiry. We will fix, for example, upon the ecclesiastical delegates who were to find their way from Lyons[1], Vienne, Grenoble, Orange, Arles, Marseilles, and Nice, to Turin, Milan, or Aquileia, and take Gap as a mean point between these cities. Gap is nearly equidistant from Lyons, the most northern, and from Marseilles and Nice, the most southern of the group. We will suppose a straight line to be drawn on the Map, from Gap to Milan, through which it was necessary to pass on the route to Aquileia. This imaginary line will be found to run directly over the Cottian Alps, through the valleys of Piemont and Turin, to Milan. And not only so, but it will be found to intersect, at different points, the real line of communication, or

[1] There was another and a nearer road from Lyons to Milan over the Graian Alps, or Little St. Bernard, and by the Val d'Aoste; but, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, this does not seem to have been so generally used, at the period under discussion, as that over the Cottian Alps.—"Media, compendiaria, magisque celebris," is the observation of that author, lib. xv.

great Roman road [1], which extended from Milan across Mount Genevre, the Cottian Alps, to Gap [2], the ancient Vapincum, and which then branched off into other military roads, towards the north, to Vienne and Lyons, and towards the south, to Arles and Marseilles.

In the Itinerary of Antonine most of the distances from Italy to the Gauls are measured from Milan (Mediolanum); and Bergier, in his learned and invaluable History of the Great Roads of the Roman Empire, devotes much of his attention to that road which crossed the Cottian Alps, as the grand paved way, which formed the line of communication between Italy, the Gauls, Spain, and Britain [3].

Some of the measurements in Roman miles, of which Bergier makes express mention, will not be

[1] See the annexed diagram.

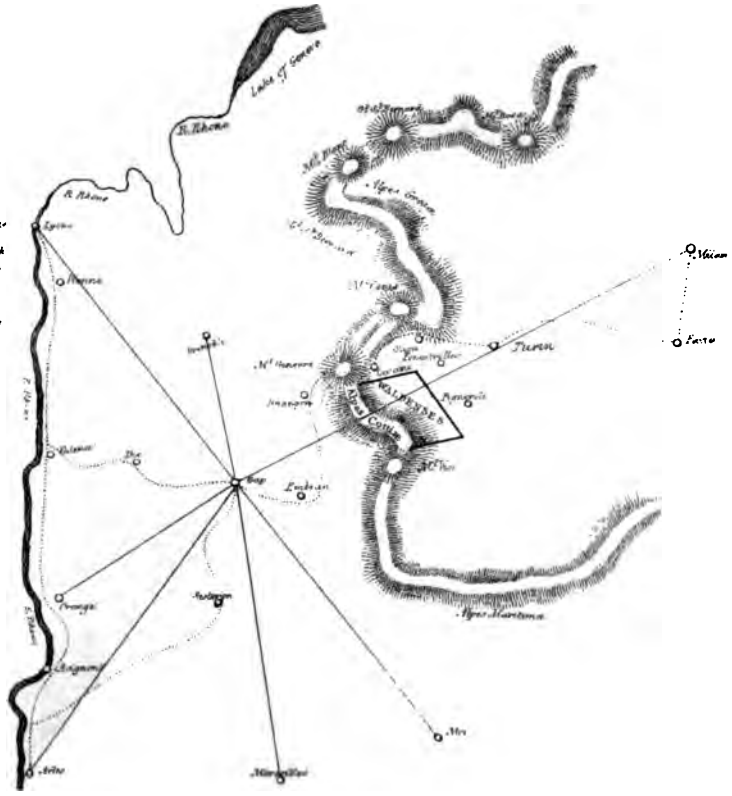
[2] Gap is still the point of junction where many excellent modern roads meet, and from whence travellers from Spain and the South of France proceed, who desire to take advantage of the noble road, which Napoleon made over the Alps into Italy by Briançon, the Mount Genevre, the Col Sestriere, Fenestrelles, and Turin. The Sardinian Government has suffered it to fall into dilapidation on the Italian side, and it has there become inconvenient for carriages, but persons on horseback would find it a much nearer and more picturesque route from Lyons and Grenoble, to fall into this road at Briançon, and to go by Mount Genevre to Turin, than by Mount Cenis.

[3] Bergier, His. des Gr. Chemins de l'Empire Romain, lib. iii. c. 31. 34. 36.

Diagram

Shewing the Situation of the Valleys of the Waldenses and their Vicinity to the Great Roman Road over the Cottian Alps which formed the principal Line of Communication between the Primitive Churches of the North of Italy and the South of France

The Roman Road was [illegible] by dotted lines



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thought out of place in this part of my discussion, inasmuch as they will shew, that Christian messengers, pilgrims, or missionaries, making journeys from Italy to France, Spain, or Britain, would be brought into communication with the men of the valleys, by means of the principal and central pass in Gaul, which certainly skirted their territory, if it did not intersect it.

From Milan to Arles (Arelate) by the Cottian Alps, Mount Genevre . . . . M. P. 411
From Milan to Gap [1] (Vapincum) by ditto . 255

[1] From Milan to Gap, according to the Itinerary of Antonine—

From Milan to Ticinum	(Pavia)	M. P.	22
To Laumellum	(Lomello)		22
To Rigomagus	(Trino)	M. P.	36
Quadrata	(Crescentino)		16
Taurini	(Turin)		21
Ad Fines	( )		16
Segusio	(Susa)		24
Ad Martis	( )		16
After Ad Martis the Charta Peutingeriana places			
Gadaone	(Cesane)	M. P.	8
Brigantia	(Briançon)		6
Brigantia	(Briançon)		18
Rama	( )		18
Embrodunum	(Embrun)		17
Caturiges	(Chorges)		16
Vapincum	(Gap)		12

This Itinerary brings the Cottian road through the valley of the Dora, and so to Susa; in which case it would have skirted the valleys only; and travellers out of Gaul, on reaching Ce-

From Milan to Vienne, by the Cottian Alps and Gap 409
From Milan to Leon (Legione) in Spain, by Cottian Alps, Gap, and Arles 1230
From Milan to Boulogne (Gessoriacus, or the Ictius of Julius Cæsar) and the British Coast, by the Cottian Alps, Gap, and Vienne 914

Thus not only did a practicable pass, as early as the fourth century, carry wayfaring[1], or pro-

sane, or Gadaone, would have turned to the left at Cesane towards Susa, instead of crossing the Col Sestriere, which would have taken them through the valleys of Pragela and Perosa. It is difficult to say what are the names by which Finis, and Ad Martis, are now known. If we could believe Ad Martis to be Ad Martis Ocelum, or Ocelum, and Ocelum to be the Usseaux, near Fenestrelles, by which D'Anville* contends that Cæsar made his march towards Mount Genevre, we should then have to level a ridge of the Col. Sestriere, before we could bring an army conveniently by a route, which should embrace Fenestrelle and Susa. But Cæsar might advance towards the Alps by the valley of Pragela, and the Cottian road, so called, which was made afterwards, might take another direction. This, however, is certain, that Cesane, or Gadaone, through which the great Roman road undoubtedly ran, is within one day's journey of any part of the valleys of our research. I have myself walked to Fenestrelle from Cesane in seven hours.

[1] In passing over mountainous and difficult countries, where travellers deviate occasionally from the more frequented roads, and take to the foot-paths, the necessity of employing guides presents another channel of conversion. The early Christians

* See D'Anville's Dissertation, p. 22.

selyting Christians, who were on their road to and from the western Churches, to the immediate vicinity of the ancestors of the Vaudois; but that very route which was the most commodious, and the most frequented by travellers, who had occasion to cross the barriers of Gaul, intersected or touched upon their country. We cannot mistake the track, or its lines of communication. In one place, Bergier, who is the very best authority upon the Ancient Roman Roads, calls the paved way, which traversed mount Genevre, "the most admirable of all the roads that connected Gaul and Italy," because it extended almost diametrically from Milan to the sea at Boulogne, (Lib. 3. c. 36.) to the length of 914 miles, and because it distributed its branches towards all the regions in subjection to the empire, to Spain [1], Britain, &c. In another

propagated the Gospel as they went from place to place, by means of their conductors, with whom they conversed by the way.

[1] There are many reasons to believe that some intercourse took place between the early Spanish and Waldensian Churches. The Patois of the valleys, the Provençal language, and the Spanish language, bear a strong affinity. The ancient Vaudois treatises were written in the old Gothic character, and one of them quotes the Spanish Bishop Isidore. Few studies would throw more light upon the gradual extinction of the primitive Churches in Europe, by the popes, than the study of Spanish History. The artifices which were used to implant Romanism in Spain would be amusing, if the accounts were not intermingled with some of the most horrible details in all history. In 1062, Ranimirus, king of Arragon, was induced to take an oath, and to bind himself and his successors, to the interests of the Romish

place, he speaks of the original projector of that part of it, which traversed the mountain ridge, as having done a service to the world, by the utility, expence and skill of an undertaking, which opened a passage across the Alps, and became more commodious, and occupied less time, than any other, (Lib. 3. c. 31.)

He takes care also to enable us to identify it by ascribing its commencement to "Cottius, prince of the region which is now known under the name of Piemont," and by placing it on the chain of mountains, which lies between the Maritime and Graian Alps; and he describes it as having been constructed with vast piers, paved with stones best adapted for the purpose, and finished with all

clergy, by maledictions to this effect. "Whosoever of those who shall come after me shall violate this regal and pontifical decree, may Almighty God deprive them of their crown in this world, and in the world to come, may they, in company with Dathan, Abiram, and Judas the traitor, be consigned to the lowest hell, and there suffer the pains of eternal fire for ever and ever." The penalties of this malediction were to be incurred if the kings of Arragon should suffer any but monks of the monastery of St. John to be elected bishops of Arragon!!! Concil. Lab. 9. p. 1174.

Labbæus says, that Hugo, the pope's legate, succeeded in obtaining a repeal of the ancient laws of Catalonia, in 1064; but could not prevail upon the Catalans to abolish the use of the Gothic Liturgy. Concil. 9. p. 1180. Mariana, on the contrary, Hist. lib. 9. relates that this legate was more fortunate in the year 1068, and that the Gothic service was then superseded by the Romish rites.

that regard to the choice of materials[1], and the form of arranging them, which distinguished the noblest Roman enterprises of the same kind, (ibid. c. 19. 31.)

Having thus shewn, that the country of the Waldenses lay in the direct path of many of those messengers of the Gospel, who, at early periods, were journeying[2] to and fro among the Churches of the West, and might therefore have received the Gospel in its apostolical purity, I will now adduce some local arguments of another kind in support of the tradition, that the primitive faith has been handed down from father to son, in the valleys of Piemont, in the simplicity with which it was first embraced.

If the cross was planted among our Subalpines in either of the four first centuries, here, if any where, as it was originally set up, so it was likely to remain. To the refinements of the great capitals, in the eastern and western empire, and to the inclination of the carnal mind for the gorgeous and attractive ceremonies of pagan worship, to the philosophy of the Greeks, to the subtle disquisitions of the schoolmen, and the angry conflicts

[1] For Bergier's description of materials and mode of construction, used by the Romans, see Lib. 2. de l'Hist. des Gr. Chemins.

[2] Passagii and Passagini, or the inhabitants of the passes, from the Latin word passagium, is one of the names given by ancient authors to the Waldenses. See Glossarium Mediæ Latinitatis—sub verbo *passagium*. Iter, transitus, vulgo passage.

of controversialists, to the influence of the imperial court over the minds of some of the Christian prelates, to the ambition of others of the priesthood, and to their introduction of splendid and pompous rites, may be attributed the gradual departure of the Greek and Latin Churches from the purity of the apostolical institutions. In a secluded region, however, amidst a poor and thinly scattered population, whose means are limited, and where pastoral tastes and manners are the very reverse of the inhabitants of plains and cities, there are few opportunities of bringing these corrupting influences in conflict with the simplicity of the Gospel. The objects of our research, let it be remembered, are not only mountaineers, but borderers, and, occupying a position on the great barrier between France and Italy, have continued to dwell very much apart from the interests, habits, and customs of either country. Much that we gather from the writings of the ancient authors, goes to shew, that the Christians of the hill countries adhered to their primitive creed and discipline, long after the in-dwellers of towns and cities had consented to innovations. Ambrose of Milan, who was a great advocate for sacerdotal celibacy, observed, in one of his discourses, when he was pressing this point, that he was the more urgent upon it, because it had not escaped his notice, that "in some of the more retired places, the clergy continued to marry and to have children, and

justified their conduct upon the plea of ancient custom [1]."

Hilary, of Poitiers, made it a matter of bitter lamentation, that the inhabitants of cities should be led astray by the captivation of outward objects, and that there should be no security against it, but in remote and secluded spots, "I caution you, beware of antichrist. The pernicious love of walls has seduced you: you profanely venerate the Church of God as if it consisted of constructions and edifices, and here you expect to find your peace. Can it be doubted that this will be the strong hold of antichrist? To me mountains, and forests, and lakes, and caverns, and gulfs, are far more safe: for in these the prophets, either dwelling among them, or condemned to them, prophesied in the Spirit of God [2]."

Gretser, the editor of Reiner's work, "Contra Hereticos," is loud against Du Plessis, for asserting in his work, on the Mystery of Iniquity, that the purity and simplicity of the Christian doctrine were preserved among the defiles of the Appenines, the Pyrenees and the Alps, when they were no longer to be found in the modern Babylon and its dependencies. Gretser will not allow that mountains and valleys present a soil favourable for the cultivation of the Gospel [3]. Reiner, himself, how-

[1] Ambros. de Officiis. lib. 1. c. 50.

[2] Hilar. Liber contra Auxentium, s. 12.

[3] Bib. Patr. Tom. 13. Proleg. cap. 8. p. 296.

ever, by the very arguments which he uses to confirm his own case, and to uphold the glorious character of the Church of Rome, strengthens our position. "Observe," said he, "that second mark of the true Church, the splendour of its divine services in the ornaments about the sanctuaries, in the vestments of the clergy, in the sacred vessels, in the music, in the lights, and festivals; all these the heretics reject [1]."

It was for the sake of these, that an ambitious and vain-glorious clergy introduced so many absurd and unscriptural usages into the Latin Church. The Churches of the Alps not having the means of gratifying ambition and vanity, were less over-run by the promoters of pontifical pomp, and less overlaid with religious superfetations, with the trumpery and "furniture of paganism [2]." In fact, it would seem, from the omission of all mention of these valleys of Piemont, in some of the diocesan divisions, and surveys, which are preserved in ecclesiastical records, that there was a period, when they en-

[1] Reinerus Contra Hæreticos. cap. 1. Bib. Patr. tom. 13.

[2] "His obscure and humble dwelling, remote from the scenes of pomp and ambition." Mr. Sharon Turner mentions this among the causes which produced a reformer in the East, and led to the reformation in the West. It is to the obscurity of the Waldenses, and their remoteness from scenes of pomp and ambition, that, under God, we are inclined to attribute their long preservation of Gospel simplicity.

tirely escaped the notice of the Papal see [1]. In the dissertation of Petrus de Marca, on the primacy of Lyons, and other primacies, the province of the Cottian Alps is not allotted to any diocese whatever, although every other region in Gaul and Italy is assigned to a metropolitan see. Lab. Con. 10. 537—547.

In progress of time, when universal conformity became the grand object of the Bishops of Rome, and they endeavoured to force their corruptions upon the little flocks that desired to remain independent of them, the strong holds and inaccessible wilds of the valleys of Piemont presented a secure retreat from the arm of violence. Even the power of ancient Rome, with Cæsar at the head of the Legionaries, could not capture a prince of this country, when, relying upon the intricacy of its glens, and the impervious nature of its hiding-places, he chose to take up his retreat amidst rocks and snows, and there to maintain his independence [2].

[1] "In the middle ages, as the bishopricks of Piemont were in different states, none of which suffered the incumbents to exercise temporal dominion, except in particular cases on their own lordships, and not always there, it is easy to infer that episcopacy in Piemont was not materially injurious to the liberties of the people." Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 453.

[2] "Cottius solus in angustiis latens, inviaque locorum asperitate confisus." Ammian. Marcell. lib. 15. "Solus:" this word implies, that when other chiefs were conquered, Cottius found safety in the strong holds of the valleys.

During my late visit to this territory, holy to the Protestant, as Palestine to the descendants of Abraham, I have often enjoyed a "Pisgah view" of the crags and forests, which, like so many cities of refuge, served as sure places of safety for Vaudois fugitives: but with this difference, whereas the Israelitish cities of refuge were for the manslayer, these have been for such as fled from the shedders of human blood. The local advantages afforded in these valleys to a religious community, that may have reason to dread the assaults of an enemy, constitute, in the literal sense of the word "an asylum" fortified by the God of nature. Whether the eye of the traveller looks down from Castelluzzo, Vachera, or Galmont, from the Col de la Croix, or from that of St. Julien[1], it rests in every direction upon glens, through which it would be madness for a stranger to hope to find his way. The entrance to each of these is commanded by some mountain ridges or projecting points, where watchmen might give timely notice of the pursuer's approach; and the signal for flight would be followed by escape through one or other of a multitude of tracks; the very number of which would of itself be perplexing. By one the fugitive would wind his way through a

[1] All authors agree in opinion, that Julius Cæsar, in his invasion of Gaul, crossed the Alps between Mount Cenis and Mount Viso. May not the Col St. Julien of the Vaudois have taken its name from the Roman general?

labyrinth of paths; by a second he would penetrate into the darkness and complexities of a forest, where rocky beds of torrents, caverns of unknown depth, thick foliage, intertwining branches, and hollow trunks of aged trees, would defy any thing short of a numerous force to make effectual search, more especially in former times, before these valleys were thinned of their natural sylvan productions, to make way for the grain or plantations of man. By a third he would fly to mountain tops, where frequent clouds and mists would shroud him from the intruder's eye. By a fourth he would speed his way along the banks of precipices, which would turn any head, but a mountaineer's, dizzy with affright; and where no foot, but one sure as that of the chamois, could be planted with safety.

At the very time of my visit to these parts, two men, who were pursued by carbineers, despatched in quest of them by the government, defied all attempts to apprehend them; and the year before my arrival, a wretched woman, the victim of oppression, fled from her persecutors with an infant child at her breast, and remained for many weeks undiscovered, although the search was closely continued by the authorities of the district. Thus, even in these present times, now that the country has been well explored, and is better known, it would be rashness to assail the population, were it determined to resist aggression, without a force

large enough to invest the whole territory, and to thread every cleft and brake. What then must it have been when none but the main passes were familiar to any but the natives? The resources for the subsistence of life are as abundant as the hiding-places. In summer, strawberries, and other wild fruits, and in autumn the providential chesnut supply food to the hand that seeks it. In the winter or spring who would encounter the perils of chasing a native, whose knowledge of the snows and torrents would enable him to lead his pursuer to certain destruction? The astonishing preservation of the Vaudois, during a series of thirty-seven persecutions, sufficiently attests the inaccessibility of these glens.

Every mountain country of the same description is equally formidable to pursuers, and favourable to the pursued. There is a branch of the Waldensian Church yet existing on the French side of the Alps in Val Frassiniére, which baffled all the attempts of the government under Louis XIV. and Louis XV. to reduce it to conformity. In the few months, which are not winter, the royal troops ravaged the main village and hamlets, and chased the natives to the rocks and glaciers, without being able to exterminate them. The return of snow and cold obliged the assailants to return, the inhabitants re-took possession of their soil, reconstructed their dwellings, and setting a watch

upon the only accessible approach, abode in peace until the persecution recommenced with the open weather and open paths.

Such being the character of the country of the Vaudois [1], a natural fastness and bulwark, it is not unreasonable to ask those, who believe that God never would leave himself without a witness, without a pure visible Church existing somewhere, to attach some value to the tradition, that here was folded and fed that little flock, which remained faithful to its Shepherd, when other sheep were following rapacious hirelings [2]. "I dare affirm," said the late moderator Peyran, in a letter addressed to Cardinal Pacca, and written in a spirit worthy of the best ages, "I dare affirm, without any fear of contradiction from persons who are well-informed, and open to conviction, that the Vaudois, the only people who have at all times opposed themselves successfully to the Roman Pontiff, are a miracle of Grace and Providence; of Grace, in that they have been sustained in their belief; of Provi-

[1] Et præcipue in Galliam Cisalpinam, et inter Alpes ubi tutissimum refugium sunt nacti. Thuanus, Hist. lib. 6.

[2] "This also will be of use to strengthen the faith of Protestants, who will perceive that God, according to his promise, hath never left himself without witness, as having preserved in the bosom of these Churches most illustrious professors of the Christian religion, which they held in the same purity with which their predecessors had received this precious pledge from the hands of those apostolical men, who first planted these Churches among the Alps and Pyrenean Mountains." Allix.

dence,' in that they have been preserved from destruction [1]."

In addition to the reasons derived from their locality, which I have just assigned in support of the probability, that the Vaudois continued in the undisturbed profession of the primitive faith adopted by their forefathers, I must not omit to state what Leger, their native historian, has said upon the subject. The first attempts to force the Vaudois, as a community, into the arms of the Roman Church were made by the house of Savoy. The princes of this line did not come into possession of Piemont till the eleventh or twelfth century. At that period a reigning chief, taking advantage of the divisions that prevailed in Piemont, and of the weakness of the little sovereignties under the Counts of Lucerne, the Marquis of Saluces, and other feudal lords, made himself master of the valleys and the adjoining provinces. Previously to this change of

[1] The Protestant cause is indebted to the Rev. Thomas Sims, one of the most disinterested, well-judging, and consistent friends the Vaudois ever had, for collecting and publishing the letters of Peyran, late Moderator of the Vaudois, in a volume, entitled "Historical Defence of the Vaudois or Waldenses, by Jean Rodolphe Peyran." The arguments and chain of historical evidence contained in this work are a very tower of strength. I gladly embrace the opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to it. If Mr. Sims would publish a new edition of Peyran's letters in the form of an English translation, he would do justice to the character of that extraordinary man, and to the cause of which he was at once the ornament and support.

dynasty, the inhabitants of the valleys had experienced every kind of indulgence from their sovereigns, who were unwilling to molest them for their religion's sake. First, because they were themselves well-inclined towards doctrines, which were built upon the Scriptures only; secondly, because the inoffensive and simple manners of the "Men of the valleys" conciliated their affection; and thirdly, because it was to their interest to tolerate and protect them; for if they had been persecuted and exterminated, who would have been found to supply their places, and to people those more inhospitable parts of the higher mountains, which are covered with snow seven, eight, and sometimes nine months in the year; which were formerly, more than now, infested by wolves and bears; which are almost inaccessible and impenetrable, and where nothing but the most incessant labour can render the soil productive? Spots like these, so rugged and impervious, so elevated and rude, would have no attraction for others, if the native population were driven away, therefore the predecessors of the Dukes of Savoy, whose possessions were but small, had too much consideration for their rents and imposts, to hazard the loss of them by persecuting a hardy and industrious race of subjects. In support of this last view of the case, Leger adduces the following facts. "All the heads of families of the commune of Chabran, in the valley of St. Martin, having been cut off, about thirty years ago, the

whole place was deserted, and neither the sovereign nor the seigneurs could find persons disposed to re-people it: and yet this is one of the most favourable communes, and the least laborious of the valley of St. Martin, and abounds in vines, chesnuts, fruits, and corn. The communes of Traversa, San Martino, and Faetto, are for the same reason nearly reduced to a desert, and not a Roman Catholic can be found to accept the best lands belonging to them, although they are well provided with buildings. No, not even when they are offered for nothing, and with the further advantage of being exempt from the payment of taxes[1]."

I have already alluded to the language of the petitions and remonstrances of the Vaudois, addressed to their princes, in which they urge their antiquity as a religious community, their rights as a body, and the enjoyment of certain privileges, long before the house of Savoy ruled over Piemont. In the *Interination*[2] of an edict, dated 1584, the preamble speaks of the privileges[3] confirmed to the men of Luserna, Bubiana, and La Torre, and the other communes of the valleys of Luserna, &c. by

[1] Leger, Histoire Générale des Eglises Vaudoises. Liv. i. cap. 25.

[2] "*Interination*," is a legal term familiar to the lawyers of Turin, and signifies the final ratification under the sign manual.

[3] "S. A. confirma, Tutte le liberta, immunita, franchisie, privilegi." Astonishing! that such should have been wrung from absolute princes at these early periods!!

the ancestors of the ruling Duke of Savoy, and among others it cites edicts of the years 1448, 1452, 1466, 1473, 1499, 1509, 1562, and 1582[1].

In another edict, dated 1602, there is a sentence to this effect, " not having been able to eradicate heresy entirely, particularly in the valleys of our dominions, where we are obliged to tolerate it." " Non è stato pero possibile di sradicarla affatto, massime nelle valli del nostro Dominio, dove siamo stati astretti tolerarli[2]."

Now the only inference which we can draw from the expression, " dove siamo stati astretti tolerarli," " where we are obliged to tolerate it," is this, that the first prince of the house of Savoy, who made himself master of the valleys, bound himself and his successors, by solemn contracts, to respect the religious independence of the inhabitants, and therefore it was that the Vaudois so often recurred to the uncontradicted assertion,

[1] See " Raccolta de gl' editti et altre provisioni dell' Altezze Reali delli Serenissimi Duchi di Sauoia, di tempo in tempo promulgate sopra gl' occorrenti delle valli di Lucerna, Perosa e S. Martino, terre annesse di S. Bartolomeo, Prarustino, e Roccapiata, e dell' altre terre del marchesato di Saluzzo, e del Piemonte. In Torino, M.DC.LXXVIII. Per Gio. Sinibaldo Stampatore di S. A. R. e dell' illustrissima, & eccellentissima camera." This collection was lent me through the kindness of an eminent statesman, who once occupied a high post under the Sardinian government.

[2] Raccolta, p. 24.

"Our fathers have professed this religion in the valleys from time immemorial, and long before the ruling dynasty was established in Piemont."

Muratori[1] confirms this view of the subject by confessing, that he could gather little more from the scanty records of the early history of Piemont than this,—that in the middle ages the principality was constantly passing under different sovereigns, and that the people took advantage of these changes to obtain grants favourable to their rights and privileges.

There is another proof of the inalienable rights which the natives of the valleys possess, and of the claims they have to consider themselves a privileged and ancient religious community, viz. in the style which runs through all the edicts to which I have made allusion, and in all the answers returned by the Dukes of Savoy to the petitions of these people. Their country is called "THE VALLEYS," distinctively. They themselves are spoken of as "THE MEN OF THE VALLEYS," "HUOMINI DELLE VALLI," and "OUR FAITHFUL SUBJECTS OF THE VALLEYS," "FEDELI SUDDITE NOSTRI DELLE VALLI." "RELLIGIONARII," Religionists, is another peculiar appellation applied to them; so that they have been constantly regarded as a distinct race, whose

[1] Muratori tom. xi. Præfat. in Chron. Ast. and tom. xxiii. Præfat. in Hist. Monteser.

pretensions have been matter of notoriety, and publicly and legally recognized from age to age [1]. At the same time the court of Savoy has taken especial care to limit its unwilling concessions, and its recognition of Waldensian rights and claims, to the people of one district. Its language has been such as this, "We do not refuse to tolerate the Men of the valleys, in the profession of their ancient faith; but we have no toleration for non-conformists, who live beyond certain boundaries, they are not Vaudois, nor are they entitled to Vaudois privileges. We are resolved to shew no indulgence to them." The severity with which all other "heretics" in Piemont have been treated, compared with the forbearance shewn to the Vaudois, proclaims a state of things in every degree peculiar to the latter, and utterly unaccountable, unless we look to compacts of great antiquity, and of the most solemn obligation, for a solution of the difficulty. The exclusiveness, and the very reluctance of the indulgence in favour of the Vaudois, bespeak a vested and prescriptive right, which has been asserted by them time out of mind. Christians professing Waldensian principles have been exterminated in all the regions contiguous to the three valleys. Here only they have continued

[1] A work published in 1682, under the title, "Theatrum Statuum Regiæ Celsitudinis Sabaudiæ Ducis," states that treaties 400 years old, secured personal and religious freedom to the Vaudois.

to hold up their heads and to plead the validity of treaties. Eight hundred thousand souls, separatists from the Roman Church, formed a population professing the faith of the reformed Church, in the Alpine provinces of Pinerolo, Salluzzo, Dauphiné and Provence, in the year 1550. The 20,000 Vaudois, are the only remnant that is left! Up to a certain period, (the persecution of 1655,) there were villages and hamlets in the valleys where no admixture of Roman Catholic families had ever been known. The whole population were professors of the primitive religion. In this, too, the book of edicts confirms the statements of the Vaudois historians, and the voice of tradition. "Secondly, His Royal Highness consents, that in those places only where all the inhabitants are heretics, 'dove sono tutti heretici," they may continue to elect syndics, procurators, notaries, &c. as they have done hitherto." Edict of March 1602[1]. Another order of the year 1646, gives directions to have mass celebrated even in those communes where there are no Catholics[2]. In this manner the very ordinances, which were issued to keep the Vaudois in check, seem to bear witness to the fact, that certain districts had been peopled immemorially by a race, who never were in communion with the Roman Church, and which were exempt even from the presence of Romanists.

[1] Raccolta degl' Editti. p. 18. [2] Ibid. p. 80.

From these inferential arguments in support of the antiquity of the Waldenses, I proceed to notice the direct testimony of History in favour of my hypothesis.

SECTION III.

THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY, GATHERED FROM THE ADVERSARIES OF THE WALDENSES, OR FROM INDIFFERENT EARLY WRITERS.

Either the pages of history have not been enriched by any Waldensian authors of a very early date, or if there were any annals written by native chroniclers, previously to the year 1000, they have accidentally perished amidst the devastations committed in the valleys, or they have been purposely destroyed by their enemies. I am inclined to adopt the latter opinion, for these reasons. It is far from improbable, that the monks Belvidere and Rorenco, who made their inquisitorial visits to the valleys, and delivered official reports, touching the antiquity of the Waldensian Church, had more than tradition for their authority, when they agreed in stating that "heretics had been found at all periods of history in the valley of Angrogna," and that "nothing certain could be said of the Waldenses, furthermore than that they were not a new sect

in the ninth and tenth centuries." It is very likely that they had access to documents, which they did not permit the world to hear of any more. The suspicion is confirmed by that which Claude Seissel, Archbishop of Turin, said of them about the year 1500. " The Vaudois sect, which originated with one Leon, a devout man in the time of Constantine the Great," &c. Every scrap of paper, and every book upon which the harpies of oppression could lay their hands, during the various persecutions of the Vaudois, were seized and sent to Turin, and nothing was permitted again to see the light, which did not please the court and the priesthood. Hence the noble and learned author of " Essai sur les Anciennes Assemblées Nationales de la Savoye, du Piemont, et des Pays, qui y sont ou furent annexées," has said in his introduction, that no history is less known than that of Savoy and Piemont; and speaking of Guichenon, whom he mentions as " le plus connu" of all the historians of these countries, he calls him a courtier and a mercenary writer, who did not dare to write a line which had not passed and re-passed through the crucible at Turin. See p. 3, 4.

Leger, the Vaudois historian of the seventeenth century, declared that there was no artifice, no exertion, no expence spared by the enemies of his church, both in quiet and troublesome times, to efface all records of the ancient Vaudois from the face of the earth; and added, that after he himself

had searched every where, and had collected what he could relating to the antiquity of the Waldenses, every book and every morsel of paper was taken away from him during the massacres of 1655, and carried to Turin [1]. Not the least scrap was left to him, and it was by incredible pains that he was able to gather the materials of his history, from relics that were preserved in the neighbouring provinces of France. An affecting memorandum of the spoliation of which Leger complains in his history, is preserved in one of the pages of an old Italian Bible, now in the possession of the Dean of Winchester. It was Leger's own Bible, and in it he traced these melancholy lines with his own hands.

" Questa S. Biblia e' l' unico tesoro che di tutti miei beni ho potuto riscampare dagl' orribile massacri è incomparabile incendie che la corte di Torino ha fatti eseguir nelle valli di Piemonte del 1655, ce per questo (oltre che vi sono piu nottule di mia mano) raccommando et commando a miei figli di conservarla come una preciosissima reliqua, e di transmetterla di mano in mano alla loro posterita.

" Giovanni Legero, Pastore."

" This holy Bible is the only treasure which, of all my goods, I was able to rescue from the horrible massacres, and unparalleled destructions

[1] Leger, Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises. Liv. i. cap. 4.

which the court of Turin put in execution, in the valleys of Piemont, in 1655, and for this reason (besides that there are in it many small remarks in my own hand-writing) I recommend and command my children to preserve it as a most valuable relic, and to transmit it, from hand to hand, to their posterity.

" JOHN LEGER, Pastor."

The title-page of this Bible runs thus:

" La Sacra Biblia, tradotta in Lingua Italiana, e commentata da Giovanni Diodati, di Nazione Lucchese, Seconda Editione migliorata ed accresciuta con l'aggiunta di Sacri Salmi messi in rime per lo medesimo. Per Pietro Chovet, MDCXLI."

By the kindness of the Dean of Winchester I have been enabled to present my readers with a fac simile of this curious memorandum.

It is a singular thing that the destruction or rapine, which has been so fatal to Waldensian documents, should have pursued them even to the place of security, to which all, that remained, were consigned by Morland, in 1658, the library of the university of Cambridge. The most ancient of these relics were ticketed in seven packets, distinguished by letters of the alphabet, from A to G. The whole of these were missing when I made enquiry for them, in 1823. What these precious records were, may be seen by a reference to the catalogue given in " Morland's History of the

FACSIMILE *of a* Memorandum *and* Signature *of* Leger *the Moderator and Historian of the Vaudois written in an Italian Bible now in the possession of the Very ..... Thomas Rennell, D.D. formerly Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Rector of Drewsteignton Devon, who deceased 1753.*

This Holy Bible is the only Treasure which, of all my goods, I was able to
rescue from the horrible massacres and unparalleled destructions, wch the Court
of Turin put in execution in the Valley of Piedmont in 1655. and for this
reason (besides that there are in it many small remarks of my own hand-writing)
I recommend & comand my children to preserve it as a most valuable Relick
and to transmitt it from hand to hand to their Posterity

John Legero Pastor

Lith. J.T. Lewis, Winchester

Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont." P. 95—98.

Under these circumstances, we must search among the works of authors, who did not write professedly of the Waldenses, for traces of their existence as an independent Church, at periods anterior to the twelfth century, the era which is fixed upon by their adversaries, or by ill-informed Protestant historians, for their first appearance as impugners of the Romish faith. Happily the search will not be in vain, and in annals and treatises, sufficiently ancient for our purpose, there are found incidental or direct allusions to a body of Christians, dwelling in districts bordering upon the Alps, and protesting against the corruptions or usurpations of the Latin Church, which leave not a doubt that the ancestors of the Vaudois were the Non-conformists so described.

Alcuin, in one of his epistles [1], which was written about the year 790, complains, that the doctrine of auricular confession was not then received in the Churches of Languedoc and of the Alps. This corresponds exactly with the representation of one of the main points of difference urged with so much force in the "Nobla Leyçon," of the Waldenses. "The priest asketh him if he

[1] I take this upon the authority of Voltaire's "Additions à l'Histoire Generale," Ed. of 1763, 12mo. I have not been able to find the passage to which Voltaire alludes.

has committed any sin. He answers in a few words, and buyeth of the priest absolution. Alas, they are but sadly confessed who are thus faulty, and will certainly be deceived in such absolution, and he that maketh him believe it, sinneth mortally."

Jonas, Bishop of Orleans [1], in the epistle prefatory to his work, "De Cultu Imaginum," addressed to Charles the Bald, in 840, and in the body of this work, speaks of Italian Churches, which he accuses of heterodoxy, because they refused to worship images, and raves against Claude, Bishop of Turin, for encouraging the people of his diocese in their rejection of image worship, and their separation from that which he called Catholic unity. The valleys of Piemont were, at that period, under the episcopal jurisdiction of Claude [2].

Dungalus [3], about the same time, 840 or 841, wrote a treatise, under the title of "An Answer to the perverse opinions of Claude, Bishop of Turin." In this, and in the fragments [4] which are still extant of Claude's own works, may be found an ample account of this prelate's opposition to

[1] Biblioth. Patr. Parisiis, 1624, tom. iv. p. 533—594.

[2] In some accounts of Claude, he is called Bishop of Turin and Embrun. The valleys of Piemont lie between Turin and Embrun.

[3] Ibid. p. 154. 198.

[4] See Bib. Patr. tom. i. ii. Mabillon Analecta, and Bib. Mss. Labbei.

the growing errors of the Latin Church, and of the religious sentiments of the people who looked up to him for instruction and sanction. Claude died between 838 and 841, and during a life of great activity, and more especially when he ruled over the see of Turin, protested against the authority of tradition when unsupported by Scripture, and pledged himself to promulgate nothing, but that which was consistent with the doctrines and discipline of the primitive Church [1]. He raised the laugh of scorn against superstitious articles of faith, which were of modern invention. He spurned with his feet the images of saints, and the pretended relics of holy men of old, and he had the sagacity and the boldness to ask his adversaries, "Why do not the worshippers of the wood of the cross, in conformity with their newly adopted principles, adore chaplets of thorns, because Christ was crowned with thorns; or spears, because Christ was pierced with that weapon? Or why do they not fall down before the image of an ass, because Christ honoured that animal by riding upon it?" How little did Claude then imagine, and how far were the first promoters of such errors from suspecting, that the time would come,

[1] While Claude was lifting up his voice in his diocese of Turin against image-worship, Agobardus was doing the same in his diocese of Lyons. See his Treatise against Pictures, Edit. à S. Baluzio. The primitive Churches east and west of the Alps must have been under one or other of these Bishops.

when the vilest of these fooleries should grow out of that mischievous departure from the simplicity of the Gospel, which began with directing towards an outward emblem that adoration, which is due to God alone! Among the Roman Catholic festivals there was, if there is not still, a commemoration called the "Feast of Asses"—"asinaria festa," in which an ass was led in procession, covered with sumptuous trappings, and before which hymns and anthems were sung in real or mock solemnity. The church itself was the scene of these profanations, and the nave and the choir were desecrated by the presence of the animal, and his more brutish conductors [1].

It is the concurrent voice of several historians, that the "Men of the valleys" were not unmoved by the examples of their metropolitan, Claude. I have already shewn that the monk Rorenco at-

[1] Mr. Sharon Turner has given a faithful account of this abominable festival in his History of England during the Middle Ages, vol. v. book vii. ch. ii. He cites as his authority Du Cange, Gloss. ii. 402; and Millin's account of it from the Missal, composed by an Archbishop of Sens, who died in 1222. The enlarged Paris edition of Du Cange's Glossary, 1733, relates, at some length, that after the mass, which was celebrated at this festival, the priest, instead of exclaiming, "Ite, missa est," as usual, brayed three times *. Voltaire has recorded, that a stuffed ass was preserved with great reverence in the church of Notre Dame des Orgues, in Verona. See Add. à l'Hist. Gen. p. 129.

* See Sub verbis Festum Asinorum, vol. iii. p. 423.

tributed, what he calls, their first schism to the instigations of Claude, and to his preachings and writings against the introduction of images, the adoration of the cross, and the invocation of saints. Genebrard, in his chronological notices of the tenth and eleventh centuries, shews that the vestiges of Claude's "new sect" still remained in those ages. But Claude himself, in answer to the charge adduced against him, of promulgating novelties in religion, declared, "I teach no new sect, but I keep myself to the pure truth, and I will persist in opposing, to the uttermost, all superstitions and schisms [1]."

Upon another occasion, when this great man felt it necessary to justify his belief and practice, as to the invocation of saints, he explained himself thus. "One man cannot be made holy by the holiness of another, or prudent by the prudence of another, or wise by the wisdom of another; there is no imparting, or communicating these qualities. But by the contemplation of these incommunicable virtues, by emulation we may become embued with a similar spirit." He then quoted a passage from Augustin, de vera Religione, cap. 55. to this effect, "Our religion is not to be a worship of dead men. The pious of other days are to be honoured for the imitation sake, and are not to be adored religiously [2]." Such

[1] Bib. Patr. tom. i. Parisiis. Epis. Claud. ad Theodemirum.

[2] See Mabillon Vetera Ana. p. 91.

were the sentiments of the Bishop to whom the Vaudois rendered canonical submission in the ninth century. How absurd then to pretend that these and similar sentiments were unknown in Europe till they were introduced by strangers from the East, in the eleventh century, and that they were not openly avowed by any religious community, before the twelfth century.

Atto, in the year 945, governed the see of Verceil, which lies between Turin and Milan. The epistles of this Bishop are still preserved. In some of them he speaks of persons who had deserted the holy mother Church; and his mention of their vicinity to his own diocese, and of points of difference resembling those maintained by the Waldenses, direct our eye at once towards the quarter, where tradition places the little lamp of truth, which was never extinguished, or left untrimmed. "Atto to all the faithful in our diocese. Alas! that there should be many in your parts who hold our divine services in derision. Alas for the miserable wretches who have separated from our holy mother Church, and from the priesthood, through whom alone you can attain unto salvation [1]."

In the year 1025, half a century before Berengarius was pronounced to be a preacher of strange doctrines (the favourite charge of the Latin Church against all who dissent from her, thus Claude was

[1] Spicilegium Dacherii, vol. viii. p. 110, 111.

accused of forming a new sect in the ninth century, Berengarius in the eleventh, and the Waldenses in the twelfth; and yet in each case these new doctrines were the same which were to be traced up to the primitive ages)—a synod was held at Arras, in which it was represented to Bishop Gerard, who presided, that "certain persons had come from the borders of Italy, and had introduced heretical dogmas[1]." And what were these? Precisely the same which the Vaudois have always avowed. They are jumbled together with extravagances, but the principal charges amounted to this: "That the accused had endeavoured to pervert the discipline of the Church, to explain the nature of a certain justification, by which alone men can be saved, to prove that baptism is of no avail, unless the after life of the baptized correspond with the spiritual object of the Sacrament, that Christ is not carnally present in the Eucharist, that there is no virtue in altars, bells, relics, tombs of the dead, and none in the wood of the cross, or in the pictures or images of the saints[2]." Such in 1025, and at a public tribunal, was shewn to be the religious persuasion of heretics from the confines of Italy.

About the year 1050 Petrus Damianus addressed letters to Adelaide, Countess of Savoy and Duchess

[1] Spicilegium Dacherii, vol. xiii. p. 2.

[2] Ibid. vol. xiii. p. 2—63.

of the *Subalpins*, complaining that the clergy of her dominions did not observe the ordinances of the Church[1].

Seventy years afterwards we again find incidental mention of a schism in Italy, which bears on the face of it the strongest marks of probability, that the territory of the Waldenses was the seat of this schism.

The Chronicon of the monastery of St. Tron was written by the Abbot Rodolphe, between the years 1108 and 1136[2]; and in this it is stated, that there was a land in Italy, which the chronicler desired to visit, when he crossed the Alps, and made a journey to Rome. He had heard that it was polluted by an inveterate heresy concerning the body and blood of our Lord. "Præterea *terram* ad quam ulterius disposuerat peregrinari, audiebat pollutam esse inveterata hæresi de corpore et sanguine Domini[3]." The terms "*terram*," "*pollutam*," and "*inveterata*," imply three things: first, that it was a whole region which was affected by doctrines which the good abbot, whose admiration of the faith and discipline of the Latin Church carried him to Rome, believed to be heretical. He knew, no doubt, that Berengarius of France, and his followers, had propounded doctrines against the real presence, but here in Italy a whole people declared themselves against it, and this raised

[1] See Oper. Dam. p. 566.

[2] Spicilegium Dacherii, vol. vii. p. 455. [3] Ibid. p. 493.

his curiosity. Secondly, they imply that the evil had spread wide, and was of deep root, polluting the soil, and thirdly, that it was of very old standing; that it was inveterate, at that period, viz. in the year 1124 or 1125, when Rodolphe was at Rome. The passage to which I allude contains some obscurities; and it may be thought a little too bold to assert positively, that the country, of which Rodolphe made mention, was that of the Vaudois of Piemont, but the advocates of the Papal system are welcome to the objections which may arise out of this difficulty. If it was not the sub-alpine region of Piemont, where this heresy, spoken of by Rodolphe, was of deep root and long continuance, then there was some other province in Italy, besides that of the Vaudois, where an obstinate difference of opinion prevailed upon one of the most important tenets of the Latin Church; and this point at least is established, that a main article of the creed of the Reformers, which, it is alleged, was introduced as a novelty [1] into Europe in the eleventh century, was firmly seated, and had been long

[1] Joannes Scotus had agitated this question nearly two hundred years before Berengarius discussed it. Scotus died in 884. See an account of his writings, Spicil. Dacherii, vol. ii. In the letter of Durandus to Henry I. King of France, in 1050, that polemic complained that Berengarius had introduced an old heresy to modern times, "antiquas hæreses modernis temporibus introducendo." Concil. Lab. tom. ix. p. 1061.

firmly seated, not in the breasts of a few individuals, a few Berengarians, but in the bosom of an entire population in some part of Italy, at a period early enough to upset all the pretended stories of new sects and unheard-of doctrines. Nothing can be gained to the Romanists by denying that Rodolphe had an eye to the Waldenses: most probably he did not know them by name, but the narrative that he gives of his journey proves, that he had heard of a country in Italy, where Christians professed a faith different from his own, and denied the real presence, in the sense of the Roman Church; that he desired to visit it, when he was on that side of the Alps where it lay, but that the state of his health and finances, and fear of danger, prevented him, and therefore he returned straight home from Rome to St. Tron. There is not a word in the Abbot's Journal to designate the geography of the region in question, save this, that while he was in Italy it was desirable to complete the object of his journey, and to investigate the particulars of a prevailing heresy in the land where it flourished. It does not even appear that he himself knew exactly where the region was situated [1].

[1] The whole of the passage, which is exceedingly ambiguous, except as to the one fact of a whole region in Italy being polluted by inveterate heresy, lies within the compass of a few lines:— "Cumque vigilans nocte aliquando jaceret, et die in Ecclesiis solus Romæ resideret, diligenti cura et sollicito retractabat

Towards the year 1140, Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, having received a letter from Evervinus of Cologne, concerning some heretics of that place, took occasion to compose a long invective against such as presumed to oppose themselves to the dogmas of the Latin Church. With the usual artifice of monkish writers[1], who have a passion for reviling all who disagree with them, he contrived to mix up truth and falsehood together in one heterogeneous compound, and confounding every denomination of Christians at variance with Rome under the common name of heretics, to ascribe

animo, quæ peregrinationis suæ fuisset intentio, et de ea revelata religiosis viris quid in itinere didicisset ab eis. Sollicitabat enim eum hoc non parum ad ea quæ cogitaverat, si essent explenda, cuncta ei jam surrepta fuerant necessaria. Præterea terram ad quam ulterius disposuerat peregrinari, audiebat pollutam esse inveterata hæresi, de corpore et sanguine Domini, sed et de consilio animæ suæ, et eorum qui sibi fuerant commissi nihil aliud audierat a religiosis viris, nisi quod domi didicerat ex ecclesiastica disciplina et libris communibus tam nobis quam illis. Super hoc accreverat ei passio jamdudum in clune quam physici solent ciaticam appellare, ea cum gressum ei perstringeret, equitare etiam sine continuo cruciatu non sinebat." Spic. Dac. tom. 7. p. 493. The relation proceeds to state, that Rodolphe returned straight home.

[1] It has ever been the malice and the wisdom of the Church of Rome to paint all who are disaffected to herself under the vilest colours; Manichæans, Arians, Novatians, Paulicians, were names that became odious to Christian ears at a very early period of Christian history, and it was therefore a sure way of rendering non-conformists suspected and obnoxious to brand them with these stigmas.

the extravagances of any one sect to them all. But in spite of this disingenuous dealing, he suffered a statement to escape him, to which I have already made reference, [p. 43.] but which must again be brought forward as belonging legitimately to this parcel of evidence. In substance it is this. "There is a sect which calls itself after no man's name, which affects to be in the direct line of apostolical succession, and rustic and unlearned though it is, yet it contends that we are wrong, and that it only is right. It must derive its origin from the devil, since there is no other extraction which we can assign to it[1]." We thank him for this admission. He gives his valuable testimony to the very fact that we are so anxious to establish. Whether they were the Waldenses of whom he was speaking, or others, it matters not: it is enough for us to know that in the time of this learned, industrious, and enquiring Romanist, there was an ancient community in Europe, avowing sentiments in opposition to Rome, such as the Waldenses have ever avowed—such as Protestants now maintain, and who yet acknowledged no heresiarch, no chief, or founder, whose memory they held in honour, or to whose tenets they subscribed, as did the Manichæans, the Arians, the Sabellians, Nestorians, &c. What then becomes of the fable of the Paulicians, or other fathers of the Reforma-

[1] Bernard, Sermo sup. Cant. 66.

tion, whom Gibbon and Mosheim, with the assistance of Glaber and Muratori, transported from Asia into France and Italy? Bernard, who was born towards the latter end of the eleventh century, had opportunities enough of ascertaining the truth, if the first seeds of the Waldensian heresy had been sown by foreign hands in the eleventh century. But not a word of this. On the contrary, he attests the existence of a community, which boasted, that it called itself after no man's name, because it was of apostolical descent. He does not indeed speak of the country of this community,—but his simple mention of it confirms our belief in the probability, that the Vaudois, in the very earliest times, put in their claims to be considered a pure branch of the primitive Church, and refused, as they do now, any other appellation than that which belonged to them, as members of Christ's universal Church, or as inhabitants of the valleys. Better evidence of the Scriptural purity of their faith cannot be adduced, for sectarians or schismatics, properly so called, in general make no disguise of their origin, as separatists from an established Church, or from the larger body, but take a pride in calling themselves after the author of their opinions or head of their party. The Waldenses, adhering from age to age to the primitive faith, have for that reason rejected any distinctive appellation. In like manner, while many sectarians

have openly professed sentiments of the wildest and most extravagant character, the Waldenses have never pleaded guilty to any one of the unscriptural opinions, which have been imputed to them. Fanatics in general have no objection to the denomination which most nearly describes them. However offensive it may be, it is a sort of persecution of which they are proud, and in progress of time the term is accepted on their part with the same readiness, with which it is applied to them by their adversaries. But the men of the valleys, conscious of their own orthodoxy, and abominating the extravagant folly of fanatics, quite as much as the Romanists did, would never consent to have any name applied to them, but their own. Hence even the most ferocious of the edicts, which were issued against them in the days of persecution, never styled them by any term worse than "heretics," or "professors of the pretended reformed religion." This forbearance on the part of their sovereigns and their advisers [1] is a clear proof, that

[1] Although the public authorities were thus sparing in the terms which they applied to the Vaudois, in the acts and ordinances of the principality, yet Romish writers and controversialists have not refrained from loading them with every appellation from the vocabulary of heresy. I consider this to be another testimony in favour of the antiquity of the Waldensian Church, and of its successful opposition to the usurpations of Rome. Whenever any resistance was made to the new corruptions of that Church, it was attributed to Waldensian origin; and

whatever visionary or monstrous tenets may have been adopted by other dissidents from Rome, the non-conforming Church of the Alps has continued to be as sober in its articles of faith, as the "sect" contemporary with Bernard of Clairvaux, which disclaimed all connection with any but apostolical founders.

In the year 1183, four years after the Lateran Council under Alexander III. in which the Albigenses were anathematised, their goods pronounced to be confiscated, and their persons condemned to slavery[1], Pope Lucius published a bull against the heresies and heretics, which, as that document set forth, "had sprung up in most parts of the world," and had obtained different names from the several false doctrines which they pro-

in the "Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis," we find that every appellation by which schismatics were known, had its synonym in Waldenses.—e. g.

"Buoni Homines"—"Reinerus contra Valdenses ait," &c.

"Bulgari"—"Cathari qui iidem sunt cum Valdensibus."

"Cathari"—"Etiam postmodum dicti Valdensium Sectatores."

"Insabbatati et Sabbatati"—"Hæretici Valdensium Asseclæ Sectarii."

"Leonistæ"—"Hæretici qui alias Valdenses."

"Lugdunenses"—"Sive Valdenses."

"Pauperes de Lugduno"—"Hæretici qui vulgo Valdenses,"&c.

"Passagini"—"Hæretici Valdensium Sectarii."

"Paterini"—"Dicti præterea Hæretici Valdensium Sectarii."

"Runcarii"—"Hæretici Valdensium Asseclæ."

[1] See Concil. Lat. tom. 10. p. 1522.

fessed. This bull declared "all Cathari, Paterini, and those who called themselves the humble or poor men of Lyons, and Passagini (i. e. men of the valleys, from their mountain passes, as I have shewn p. 61, note.) to lie under a perpetual anathema;" and it especially denounced those "who taught any opinions concerning the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, Baptism, the remission of sins, matrimony, or any other Sacraments of the Church, differing from what the holy Church of Rome doth preach and observe." It also enjoined "every archbishop or bishop, either in his own person or by his archdeacon, to visit, once or twice in the year, the parishes in which it is reported that heretics dwell[1]."

Again, in the year 1194, Alphonso, King of Arragon, and Marquess of Provence, issued a public edict "commanding and charging the Valdenses, Insabbatati, who otherwise are called the poor men of Lyons, and all other heretics, to depart out of his kingdom and all his dominions[2]."

Now what do we infer from these complaints of the prevalence of opinions hostile to the Roman Church, in which express mention is made of Waldenses? Not that which Pope Lucius III. would have had the dupes of the pontificate to believe, that they were "heresies lately sprung up

[1] Concil. Lab. tom. 10. p. 1737.
[2] Bib. Patr. tom. 13. p. 230.

in all parts of the world," but that they were the lingering doctrines of the Primitive Church, which at the latter end of the twelfth century were still cherished by some few, at least, in all parts of the world,—and which the Romanists had hitherto found it difficult to supplant by the substitution of their own perversions and fables. Not that anti-papal novelties were now first spreading in all parts of the world; but that the papacy began to feel itself strong enough to enforce those corruptions of its own, in diverse quarters, which had long been pushing truth out of the way. The opinions held by recusants concerning the sacraments, contrary to those of Rome, were in accordance with the simple articles of the apostolical faith, while those, which the mistress Church, supported by bigoted emperors and imbecile princes, was attempting to thrust upon the nations of Europe, were unscriptural creeds, which rendered the cross burthensome or contemptible.

Endeavours were made to shew that the Albigenses were of recent appearance at the time of the Lateran Council, in 1179. But in 1163[1] the Council of Tours had spoken of the contagion as having spread long ago, far and wide, and in the parts about Thoulouse, Gascony, and in many other provinces. Similar attempts were hazarded to describe the Waldenses and Poor Men of Lyons

[1] See Con. Lam. tom. 10. p. 1410.

as the same sect, and to make it believed that they were so named from Waldo, of Lyons, who began his reforming career in 1161, and terminated it in 1179. But can any thing be more absurd than to suppose that a religious faction, originating about twenty or twenty-two years previously to the bull of Lucius III., could have so spread "in most parts of the world [1]" as to occasion the meeting of "patriarchs, archbishops, and many princes, from several parts of the world [2]," "to devise the best means of putting it down [3]?" In the present age, with all the aid of printing and rapid communication, would it be easy to extend any religious innovation, so as to make it influential and formidable throughout the world within a space of twenty years, un-

[1] See bull of Lucius, in 1183, Concil. Lab. tom. 10. p. 1737.

[2] It has been affirmed that the orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans were instituted to silence the Waldenses. See Bib. Patr. tom. 4. p. ii. p. 729.

[3] The oath which was about this time administered to all "kings, princes, governors, earls, barons, consuls, and prefects of cities", in communion with the Latin Church, was that "they would powerfully and effectually assist the Church against heretics and their accomplices, and endeavour faithfully to execute the ecclesiastical and imperial statutes concerning the matters therein mentioned." See Conc. Lab. 10. 1737. Ignorant secular officers were not likely to understand what was heresy against scriptural truth, and what was not, consequently the clergy proceeded rapidly after this, in rooting out the simple services of Churches, independent hitherto of Rome, and in establishing the mass and all its concomitant corruptions.

less it were backed by the force of arms? Could this have been done then at a period when communication and intercourse were impeded by a thousand obstacles unknown to the existing generations?

The fact is, that the council of prelates and princes, and the papal bull, were employed to extinguish the few bright sparks that were left of the flame of truth kindled by the Primitive Church.

Up to this period, and still later, the fire was kept alive in those regions, which were at a distance from the jealous eye of the triple crowned usurper, and remote from seats of government where his influence prevailed. In the strong holds of the valleys of Piemont it continued to burn most brightly for reasons which I have stated above—there it never was smothered, and the name of its vigilant guardians became synonymous for all that was most feared and abhorred by the Latin ecclesiastics.

The contradictory statements of the haters of the remaining light of the Primitive Church are evidence of the shame, to which it had long continued to put those who loved darkness rather than light. "It is a heresy just sprung up," said Pope Lucius, in his bull of 1183. "It is powerful, public, and every where allowed," said the twenty-seventh canon of the Lateran Council in 1179. "It shewed itself long ago, and is now spreading like a cancer, in all the

regions round about Thoulouse, in Gascony, and in very many provinces,"—is the complaint of the fourth canon of the Council of Thoulouse in 1163. "It is busily agitating the questions of the real presence, infant baptism, and the validity of our sacerdotal orders,"—is the declaration of the third canon of the Council of Thoulouse in 1119. "It is new," said the abbot of Fons Calidus, in 1140. "It is old," said his contemporary Ecbert. "It is contemptible," said Bernard of Clairvaux, who flourished about the same period. "It is formidable," said one of Bernard's correspondents. "It was a novelty in the 12th and 13th centuries," said the monks Reiner and Mariana and Gretser. "It was not a new heresy in the 10th century," said the Prior Rorenco, "but only the continuation of the heresy of the preceding ages."

Having traced the Waldenses through the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries, I have now brought the enquirer down to an epoch, when more formidable and systematic engines were set to work, to root out the last adherents to the primitive forms and creeds of the Christian Church. In the quaint and sarcastic language of Berengarius, "the world had long began to see in the bishop of Rome, non solum pontificem sed pompificem, et pulpificem"—not only the pontifical, but the pompous and aspiring character. After the successful crusade against the Albigenses and the

remains of the Apostolical Christians in France, between 1206 and 1218, the ecclesiastical historians and polemics in the interests of the pope, began to give their attention more carefully to the subject of non-conformity, and to declare war against different bodies of the disaffected, and to anathematize them by name, as far as locality or avowed religious sentiments might render it possible to classify them. The dissidents of the south of France had rendered themselves sufficiently conspicuous to be brought under the appellation of Albigenses, either because Albi was the centre of the country where the religious conflict raged, or because the council of Albi, or Conference of Albi in 1179, first invited the notice of the papacy to the strong feeling, which manifested itself in Languedoc, against the encroachments of the Latin clergy. But it was no easy matter to enrol the recusants under distinctive names in other regions. The opponents of Rome were to be found every where, intermixed with the population. They were in Spain[1], and

[1] Geddes has shewn in his Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. ii. that no people held the liegemen of Rome and their unscriptural perversions of the truth in greater scorn than the early Churches of Spain. He asserts that the Gothic liturgy, used in Spain till about 1080, contained nothing like the fables of the Missal, and that in the canons of forty Synods, or national and provincial Councils, held in succession, from that of Eliberis in 305, not a word is to be found in support of papal supremacy.

Portugal from the Pyrenees to Gibraltar—witness the three books of the Spanish writer, Lucas Tudensis, "On the Controversies concerning another Life, and on Heretical errors," composed between the years 1220 and 1240. So thickly were the impugners of Rome interspersed among his countrymen, that Lucas had no other common name for them but the prostituted term, heretic. When Mariana, however, came to republish these books four hundred years afterwards, he chose to entitle them "The three books of Lucas Tudensis against the errors of the Albigenses." Not a word is said about the Albigenses throughout the whole of the original, but the interpolation was made, "because," says Mariana in the Epistolary dedication and in the Preface, "the Albigenses were the sect which flourished contemporary with Lucas [1]." Those, who will take the trouble to read this work, and observe how fondly Lucas dwells upon the presumed opinions of Isidore, the Spanish saint, how he laments that Spanish enthusiasm should be cooled, and should not burst out in arms against the enemies of the Catholic faith [2]—how he declaims against heretical conventicles—the public disputations of heretics [3]—their profanation of the parish churches [4],—the arrival of Arnald in

[1] Bib. patr. tom. 4. Parisiis, 1624. p. 575, 581.
[2] Ibid. p. 693.
[3] Ibid. p. 694.
[4] Ibid. p. 703.

Spain and the transactions at Leon [1],—will perceive that the mind of Lucas was occupied by the consideration of Spanish, and not of Albigensian, or foreign non-conformity.

That the discontent was as general in other countries as in France and Spain, especially in Belgium and Germany, against Papal insolence and unholiness, will equally appear from the tracts which issued from the pens of Ebrard de Bethune of Flanders (fl. 1212), of Bernard, Abbot of Fons Calidus (fl. 1146), of Ermengard, and Evervinus of Cologne, the correspondent of Bernard of Clairvaux (fl. 1140), who did all that in them lay to reconcile their contemporaries to the Roman yoke, and to inflame them against such as made it their religious duty to uphold the simplicity of the Gospel, and to expose the falsehoods of the Latin Church. But for the very reason that the champions of the truth, and the asserters of primitive faith and discipline, were thus intermingled every where with the population of the countries where they lived and preached, and that there was no region but one (the valleys of Piemont) where Romish errors had not crept into the public ecclesiastical constitutions, these writers, like Bernard of Clairvaux, spoke of Rome's adversaries under the common name of heretics, or under the still more obnoxious term Manichæans. Gretser, the

[1] Bib. Patr. tom. 4. Parisiis, 1624, p. 706.

editor of the works of Ebrard, of Bernard of Fons Calidus, and of Ermengard, emblazoned them all three as a triad who wrote "against the sect of the Waldenses." There is not the least proof to be adduced from internal evidence that either Bernard or Ermengard had enlisted themselves expressly against "the men of the valleys." Bernard's work should have been called "Adversus Inobedientes Ecclesiæ Romanæ[1];" or "Treatise against those who refuse to submit to the Church of Rome." It is almost wholly occupied by remonstrances with those who questioned the authority of the Pope, and of the popish clergy, and shews clearly enough, that Rome had no little trouble in reconciling the public mind to her pretensions, even in the middle of the twelfth century. Gretser's malignant hatred of the Waldenses is displayed pre-eminently in the substitution, which he has hazarded in his edition of Ermengard's book. Ermengard wrote "against those who say and believe that this world, and all things visible, were made not by God, but by the Devil." His first chapter is headed, "God is the Creator of all things;" his second, "There are not two Gods[2]."

[1] The heads of the three first chapters stand thus. I. "Contra hoc quod dicunt non esse obediendum summo Pontifici aliisve Prælatis. II. De dignitate Prælatorum, quod eis sit deferendum et obediendum. III. Contra eos qui detrahunt rectoribus animarum." Bib. Patr. tom. iv. p. 1197.

[2] Bib. Patr. tom. iv. p. 1235.

There is some slight authority for the insertion of the name Waldenses at the head of Ebrard's work, but it is very slight. "Liber antihæresis" was the style used by the author himself for his book; and in the twenty-sixth chapter [1], "concerning various heretics and their opinions," he has enumerated seventy sects of heretics, to neither of whom, however, does he assign either country or habitation; but the twenty-fifth chapter, "against those who are called Xabatati," begins in this manner: "There are some who call themselves Vallenses, because they dwell in the valley of Tears; these hold the Apostles in derision, and would rather be called Xabatenses, from Xabata, than Christian, from Christ." In the fourth paragraph of this chapter, Ebrard addresses the objects of his vituperation by the same name; "all these things are objected to you by Solomon, Oh, ye Vallenses [2]." It is singular enough that this author, who lived so near the time of Waldo (fl. 1212), and was most probably contemporary with him, not only makes not the slightest reference to that Reformer as the founder of the sect of the Vallenses, but spells the name with a V and with two L's, using neither a W nor a D in the word, which he assuredly would have done, had he considered the "men of the valleys" to have been named Waldenses, from

[1] Bib. Patr. tom. iv. p. 1173. Ebrard, in his list of heretics, has not one syllable about the Paulicians of Mosheim and Gibbon.

[2] Ibid. p. 1168.

Waldo. But no; with an imperfect notion of these people, who were called after the place of their abode, but which place was unknown to him, a native of the lowlands of Flanders, he brings a figurative derivation to his aid, and supposes, or pretends to suppose them to have obtained their appellation from their affected choice of a poor and sorrowful life[1].

At length, when it was thought absolutely necessary that Rome should give some account of the several Churches or Congregations, by whom her supremacy and infallibility were questioned, a champion arose about the year 1250, and pro-

[1] I cannot leave Ebrard and the Vallenses, and his editor Gretser, without drawing attention to the extraordinary shifts to which monkish writers are put to make out their case, and to blacken the reputation of all such as refuse "the mark of the beast." "Waldenses" is synonymous with Gretser for the vilest of heretics. Manichæans, Diabolists, and Waldenses, they are all the same with him; but when the crafty Jesuit finds some reason to believe that Pope Lucius the Third, in his bull of 1183, made allusion to the Vallenses, he thinks that this early mention of a community in the twelfth century, whom in another work he has accused of being a sect new to the thirteenth century, will not accord with his hypothesis, and therefore he pretends that they were so called, not from their country, but by way of presage and foreknowledge of their obstinate unbelief, "they obtained their appellation, and were called Vallenses by reason of a certain presage of the future, namely, from the deep valley, from the profundity and thick darkness of error, in which they were to be involved *."

* See Bib. Patrum, tom. iv. Præfat. ad Tract. Bernardi, p. 1195.

fessed to maintain the cause of the sovereign pontiff against all who had disputed his authority. He boasted that he entered the lists armed at all points, and that having been a heretic himself, no one could give a statement of their several creeds, and describe their strong holds and hiding places so well as he.

The name of this polemic was Reinerus. His Treatise against Heretics [1], is the text-book, or quiver, from which more recent controversialists draw, whenever they desire to shoot a poisoned arrow against the ancient Waldenses, and in fact he is the earliest writer who attempted to give any thing like a distinct or detailed history of the firm opposition, which Rome experienced from this quarter. But after all, it was only an attempt; for whether it was from malice or ignorance, such a confused medley of names, creeds, and characters, was never yet jumbled together in any one treatise. All the errors of all the sects are ascribed to each. Distortions, misrepresentations, and exaggerations, crowd every page. Nothing is too absurd for separatists from the Latin Church to believe, and nothing too abominable for them to practise. He assails their reputation with all

[1] "Reineri ordinis Prædicatorum Liber contra Waldenses Hæreticos:" such is the title of the book by its editor, Gretser. "Opusculum de Hæreticis," was the original title. Bib. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 298.

the inveteracy and inconsistency of his prototype, Bernard of Clairvaux, who, in the same paragraph, describes the non-conformists who had incurred his displeasure, as being most Christian in their profession of faith, and most blameless in their life and conversation [1], and yet as concealing under this outward guise, the vilest dissimulation and hypocrisy.

But the mighty power of truth prevailed, in defiance of Reiner's prejudices; and in the incidental relations which stole from him, we find testimonies in favour both of the antiquity and purity of the Church of the Alps, and not only of it, but of other Churches in the north of Italy, which are absolutely amazing. Was it fatuity, was it candour, was it a secret attachment to the people, whom he had deserted and betrayed, or was it that controlling and presiding providence of God, which laughs the enmity of the wicked to scorn, and forces them, in spite of themselves, to work out his designs, which constrained this apostate to write down, in the midst of his calumnies, so many valuable facts relating to the people, in whom the Protestant world takes so deep an interest?

Reiner, in this work of his, speaks of himself as having been a prelate in some Church not in communion with Rome.

[1] Opera Bernardi, super Cantica, Sermo lxv. p. 761.

" I, the friar Reiner, formerly an hæresiarch, but now, by the grace of God, an unworthy priest of the order of preachers [1], compiled this tract."

It is divided into ten chapters.

1. A commendation of the Christian Faith of the Roman Church.
2. Who is a heretic?
3. The cause of heresy.
4. On the sects of ancient heretics.
5. On the sects of modern heretics.
6. The names of the different sects.
7. How these sects may be recognized.
8. How the heretics should be examined.
9. How they insinuate themselves into the friendship of the great.
10. How they should be punished.

In these divisions of his subject the inconsistency of the renegade, and the blunders of the unwilling witness, are manifested in an equal degree [2].

The Poor Men of Lyons and the Leonists are represented in the fifth chapter as being the same, and composing a sect of modern heretics [3].

[1] Bib. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 298.

[2] For example, he charged heretics first with rejecting " all the Sacraments," p. 298; and afterwards with " administering the Sacraments in the vulgar tongue," p. 300.—" The heretics are found in few countries," is his assertion in one place. Ibid. p. 298.—" There is scarcely any country where they are not," is his language in another place, p. 299.

[3] Ibid. p. 300. " Secta Pauperum de Lugduno, qui etiam Leonistæ dicuntur."

In a preceding chapter, the Leonists are said to be the most pernicious of all the sects, for three reasons.

1. Because they are the most ancient; more ancient than the Manichæans, or Arians, deriving their descent from the time of Pope Sylvester, according to some; from the times of the Apostles, according to others.

II. Because they are more universally spread over all countries.

III. Because they have the character of being pious and virtuous; because they believe in all the articles of the Apostles' Creed; and are guilty of no other crime than that of blasphemy against the Roman Church and Clergy [1].

The Waldenses are mentioned by name but once, and then very briefly: but every internal evidence goes to prove that the Waldenses, the Leonists, and the Poor Men of Lyons, were confounded together, either ignorantly, or for purposes of his own by Reiner.

Of Peter Waldo he does not speak by name, when he traces the origin of the Poor Men of Lyons; but relates the story of a zealot of Lyons, who divided his goods among the indigent, and became the founder of a sect [2].

Was it that he had not the hardihood to represent the Leonists in one page, as a sect which

[1] Bib. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 299. [2] Ibid. p. 300.

pretended to great antiquity and in the next to derive them from Waldo, who belonged to the generation before himself? Or did he allude to the story that was current ages before his time in Lyons, that a member of that Church opposed himself to the pride of the hierarchy? Philichdorffius speaks of a Valdo, or Valdis, who flourished as a Reformer in the seventh century [1].

Be this as it may, the Leonists and Waldenses are strongly identified in the pages of Reiner; and every subsequent ecclesiastical historian has taken it for granted, that the "Men of the Valleys" were thus designated by him.

Did the Poor Men of Lyons, the Lugdunists, or Leonists [2] of Reiner, assume that they were as ancient as the times of Sylvester, if not of the Apostles? So did the Waldenses.

Did the Leonists derive their name, in all probability, from "one Leon?" I have already shewn that this was predicated of the Waldenses by Rorenco and Claude Seysel, and Gretser himself was not a little disconcerted by the statement in the Chronicon of Abbas Ursbergensis, anno 1212,

[1] Bib. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 283.

[2] Reinerus was not the only writer of the thirteenth century who spoke of the Poor Men of Lyons, Leonists, and Waldenses, as the same. "Valdenses sive Lugdunenses." See Chronicon Guliel. de Puy-Laurens, Præfatio; and Glossarium Latin. sub verbis, passim.

which represents the Pauperes de Lugduno, as an "ancient order, which arose in Italy long ago [1]."

Did the Leonists of Reiner affirm of the Roman Church, that it cut itself off from the body of Christ under Pope Sylvester [2]? A similar charge is brought against her in the Noble Lesson of the Waldenses, dated 1100. A.D.

Did the Leonists believe in all the articles of the Apostles' Creed, and contend that those only were binding upon the conscience of Christians? The Waldenses would never subscribe to any other.

Was the moral character of the Leonists unimpeachable? (Reiner, cap. vii.) The Waldenses have escaped all imputations of immorality [3].

It is clear, from these coincidences, that Reiner must be considered as an historical witness to the antiquity of the Waldenses. And though his ac-

[1] Bib. Patr. tom. xiii. p. ii. p. 728.

[2] Ibid. p. 300. Reiner, and after him other Romanists, have insinuated that the Waldenses objected to Sylvester, because it was under him that the Church was united to the State, and obtained her temporalities. The real objection consisted in Sylvester being the first bishop who insisted, as points of necessity, upon needless adjuncts, corporals, palls, unctions, &c. &c. &c.

[3] Paradin, in his Annals of Burgundy, 1566, says, that in the several ancient histories which he had consulted, the Waldenses are acquitted of all crime.

count of the heretics of the day is perplexed in an extreme degree, it makes more for the Protestant than for the Romish cause.

There is an awkwardness in opposing truth, which will always continue to embarrass party writers like Reiner, and his editor, Gretser. For some reason or other, most probably because his personal researches had not extended to the remote seat of this Alpine church, Reiner did not give the Waldenses that distinct place in his treatise, which will satisfy the present enquirer touching his own knowledge of their valleys. But he has left traces of them, enough to render it a matter of surprise that there should be such a perverse reluctance on the part of our adversaries to admit the antiquity of the independent church of the valleys of Piemont: more especially when it is remembered that he puts it beyond all doubt, that there were churches in other parts of Italy that had long presented a most formidable front to the intrusive clergy of the Vatican. I may also throw out by the way, that it is much more likely that a race of mountaineers, secluded from the world, should have preserved the purity and simplicity of the primitive church, than that they should suddenly become scripture-readers and reformers in the twelfth century, after having been overwhelmed in the darkness that prevailed during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

When Roman Catholic polemics boast of the

universality of the Latin church, and complain of the novelties which sprung up in opposition to it for the first time in the eleventh, say some, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, say others, we would direct them to the pages of their own Reiner, and there they will find what sort of Christian establishments the Romish Clergy and partizans had to put down before they could erect their own constructions. Numberless branches of the primitive church they had to destroy: multitudes of disobedient congregations they had to force into unwilling conformity, from the Garonne to the mouth of the Po, on one side, and from the very Tiber to the Rhine on the other, before Rome could be considered one and supreme.

Reiner has recorded, and his relation is confirmed by the numerous authorities which the industry of Muratori collected [1], that there was scarcely a principal town or district in the north of Italy, or in the south of France, which did not contain large bodies of men protesting, in the name of Christ and his Apostles, against the doctrines and impositions of the Latin pontificate [2].

Could a systematic and wide spreading resistance, such as the following statements of Reiner represent to have been in action in the middle of the thirteenth century [3], have been the growth

[1] See Muratori, Dissertation 60.

[2] Reinerus, Bib. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 299. 304.

[3] I have assumed 1250 as a medium date, and have not taken

of a single age? And identified as it is, in all its marks and characteristics, with the resistance which the Christians of the purer æras offered to the corruptions that began to make head in their day; could it be otherwise than a ray of that true Gospel spirit which had never ceased to be in operation against error and against the working of the mystery of iniquity?

"The Catholic teachers are not as zealous in the diffusion of their true doctrine, as the perfidious Leonists are in spreading their false tenets[1]."

"Divided as they are against themselves, they are united together against the church, like Samson's foxes, whose tails were tied together while their faces looked different ways[2]."

"In all the states of Lombardy and Provence, (the Waldenses lay between the two) and in other kingdoms and lands, the heretics have more schools than the theologians, and more auditors: they hold public disputations, and convoke the people to solemn discussions; they preach in the market-places, and in the fields, and in private houses, and there is nobody who dares to prevent

advantage of the mention of an inquisitor, named Reiner, in the bull of Pope Innocent III. in 1198; which, if he be the same, would carry the age of this witness up to a period more useful to my hypothesis. I am inclined to think that there were two of this name, who figured as inquisitors. The Reiner whom I have quoted has left one certain date in his work, that of 1230. See Chapter VI.

[1] Reinerus, Bib. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 299. [2] Ibid.

them, on account of the power and numbers of those who favour them [1]."

"In my examination of heretics, and according to a computation made by them, I find there are forty-one schools in the diocese of Padua, and ten in a place called Clemmate [2]."

"These also are the places where the heretics have churches and schools," &c. &c. &c. And then he proceeds to make a calculation of forty-two, the names of which are principally German; one of them, Emsempach, he particularly mentions, because the heretics had a *Bishop* there [3]."

"They have translated the Old and New Testaments into vulgar tongues, and so teach and learn them. I myself have seen and heard a clownish layman who could repeat the whole of the Book of Job by heart, word for word, and many who were perfectly acquainted with the whole of the New Testament [4]."

"They reject whatsoever is taught, if it is not demonstrable by a text in the New Testament [5]."

"The aforesaid orders are constituted by a Bishop, or by licence from a Bishop [6]."

"Impute it not to me, reader, that I shall call them churches, but rather to them who so desig-

[1] Reinerus, Bib. Patr. This account agrees exactly with that given of the influence of non-conformity in Spain, by Lucas Tudensis, a contemporary of Reiner. Ibid. tom. iv. part ii. p. 694. 714.

[2] Ibid. 13. p. 299. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid. p. 304.

nate them. The church of Sensano, the church of Contorezo, the church of Bagnolo, the church of Florence, the church of Spoleto, the church of Thoulouse, the church of Albi[1]," &c.

Surely there is but one inference to be drawn from this mention of episcopal and sacerdotal orders, of churches, of schools, of translations of the Old and New Testaments, of public convocations and disputations, of doctrine brought to the rigid test of Scripture, of dissentient bodies in different parts of Italy, France, and Germany in 1250, of "heresy" thus active, organized, wide-spreading, and conformable in its faith and discipline to the principles laid down by the Apostles. There is but one inference to be drawn from it, viz.: that it was of old standing, and not of recent date, a relic of early establishments, not a new production; that it was handed down from the primitive ages of pure Christianity, and was not hatched in a day. The good, which I have thus assigned to the separatists from Rome, is picked out of Reiner's pages; it is intermixed with accusations of divers kinds; but there it is, and so many sound and Scriptural opinions could not have been held by men who merited the black appellations which have been given to them by their enemies; enemies who confessed, at the same time, that the worst that could be said of them was, that "they blasphemed the Romish church and clergy[2]."

[1] Bib. Patr. tom. xiii. p. 304. [2] Ibid. p. 299.

Reiner is vague and confused in his details; he fails when he attempts to define the creed of any one of his seventy sects of heretics; he never clears the way before him; he leaves his reader to arrive at what conclusions he can as to the essential distinctions of the alleged schisms; but it is plainly to be collected in his writings, that Rome was assailed in all quarters, in the middle of the thirteenth century, by malcontents, whose organization and opinions bore every mark of the ancient Apostolical stock [1].

The method which Allix has pursued, in his History of the Churches of Piemont, is to shew that in the ecclesiastical history of every century, from the fourth century, which he considers a period early enough for the enquirer after Apostolical purity of doctrine, there are clear proofs that doctrines, unlike those which the Romish church holds, and conformable to the belief of the Waldensian and Reformed Churches, were maintained by theologians of the north of Italy down

[1] Matthew Paris has recorded a fact, which is strongly illustrative of the determined opposition made to the usurpations of the Papal See at the period which I have been considering. Conrad, King of Sicily, being accused by the Pope of indifference to the Church, in permitting the open profession of heresy in some of his dominions in the north of Italy, replied, that it was impossible to prevent it, that the popular voice favoured it, and that the public preaching of the non-conformists could not be put down, either at Mantua, Brescia, or Milan. Mat. Paris, Additamenta, p. 126.

to the period, when the Waldenses first came into notice. Consequently the opinions of the Waldenses were not new to Europe in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, and there is nothing improbable in the tradition, that the Subalpine Church persevered in its integrity in an uninterrupted course from the first preaching of the Gospel in the valleys.

In imitation of this plan, I have transcribed the chief of the errors imputed by the Friar Reiner to the Waldenses and other recusants contemporary with himself; and in a parallel column I have inserted a citation from some Italian author, who lived previously to the twelfth century, containing a corresponding doctrine, to shew that the great controversies which agitated men's minds in Reiner's time, were not the inventions of modern innovators, nor were they of foreign extraction, but had exercised the minds of native Christians in countries bordering upon the Alps from very remote periods. In a third column, I have set down the corresponding sentiments of the Waldenses, as avowed by them in their Noble Lesson of 1100, or in expositions of a date nearly coeval; and in a fourth, the opinions published by the Vaudois church in later times, so as to connect the modern Waldenses, the Waldenses of 1100, and the Christians of the north of Italy, at periods antecedent to the last-mentioned æra.

Some of Reiner's marks of heresy discovered in the opinions professed by separatists from Rome in 1250, *and stigmatized as novelties. See Bib. Patr. vol.* xiii. *p.* 300.

1. "They speak evil of the Roman Church and Clergy, and say that the Pope is the cause of all the errors in the church.

"They refuse obedience to the Pope and Prelates.

"They say that the Roman Church is the whore of the Apocalypse."

Opinions corresponding with these, as advanced by Italian writers and theologians previously to the twelfth century.

1. "During the whole time of the agitation of this question, from the beginning of it until now, our predecessors and ourselves, with all our people, have avoided all communion with Rome!"—See letter of the Nine Bishops of the north of Italy to the Emperor Maurice, in 590, explaining their refusal to submit to the Roman Pontiff. Bar. An. A. D. 590.

"Our public calamities are to be attributed to Pontifical ambition."—Epist. Gregor. 32.

"At that city, where all things are venal, and apostolical letters may be bought for money."—Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, A. D. 933. See Spicil. Dach. v. 2. p. 231.

"How profligate is the whole body of shorn priests."—Ibid. p. 218.

"The Clergy maintained that the Ambrosian church of Milan ought not to be subject to the laws of Rome, and that the Roman Pontiff had no right to exercise jurisdiction in that See.

Opinions of the ancient Waldenses, collected from their "Nobla Leyçon," dated 1100, *and from Treatises of the same period, that on Antichrist, &c. preserved in Morland and Leger's Histories.*

1. "Antichrist is a delusion, which hides the truth of salvation in substantial and ministerial matters. It is falsehood itself, in opposition to the truth, covering and adorning itself with a pretence of piety and beauty. Iniquity, thus qualified, with all the ministers thereof, great and small, is that which is called Antichrist, or Babylon, the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition."

"The holy Church is become a synagogue of profligates."

"Now it is evident, as well in the Old, as in the New Testament, that a Christian stands bound, by express command given to him, to separate himself from Antichrist."—Waldensian Treatise on Antichrist.

Opinions of modern Waldenses, collected from Professions of Faith, and Catechisms, published in later times.

1. "By what mark knowest thou perverse doctrine?

"When it teacheth contrary to faith and hope; such is idolatry of several sorts, towards a reasonable, sensible, visible, or invisible *creature.*

"When priests, not knowing the intention of Christ in the Sacraments, say, that the grace is included in the external ceremonies, and persuade men to the participation of the Sacrament, without the truth and without faith. David hates the church or congregation of such persons, saying, I hate the church of evil men."—From a very ancient Catechism, still in use among the Vaudois.

Some of Reiner's marks, &c.	*Opinions corresponding, &c.*
	That it was disgraceful that a church, which had always been free, should now submit to another church."—See Petr. Damiani Epist. ad Hildebrandum, A. D. 1059. Dam. Oper. p. 417.
2. "They maintain that the Pope and all bishops, who encourage wars and violence, (propter bella) are homicides."	2. "St. Paul forbids us to contend with secular arms, Rom. xii. and 1 Peter iii.; and yet in contempt of these and of other exhortations of Scripture, the malignant and the wicked endeavour to implicate the clergy in wars, if not in their own person, yet by the agency of those whom they employ to fight their battles. "Wherefore the blessed Ambrose says, let us, the clergy, have nothing to do with wars, because the soul is our peculiar charge, and not the body. 'Put up again thy sword into his place, said our Lord, for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword.' Christ would not permit an apostle to commit homicide, even in a righteous cause, and none can innocently use carnal weapons, or permit others to use such for them." Atto, Bishop of Verceil, 950. Spicil. Dach. viii. p. 55, 56.

Opinions of Ancient Waldenses, &c.

Opinions of Modern Waldenses, &c.

2. " Like those who now persecute,
Who ought to be Christians but are not so:
And in this they are to be abominated,
For that they persecute and imprison the good.
For it is no where found
That the saints entered into conflict or persecuted."
Nobla Leyçon.

2.

Some of Reiner's marks, &c.	*Opinions corresponding, &c.*
3. " They say of the sacrament of penance, that none can be absolved by a bad priest. They contend that heavy penances ought not to be imposed, and urge the example of Christ, who said, ' go and sin no more.' "	3. " Do not reckon upon obtaining any absolution during your mortal career, for whosoever should profess to have the power of extending it to you would be deceiving you. Since you have sinned against God, from him only you are to look for pardon." Ambrose, Bishop of Milan in the fourth century. See Ad. Virg. lap. cap. 8. " She drew near to the fountain-head, taking upon herself the charge of her own repentance. She did not seek it from James. She did not ask of John. She did not appeal to Peter. She addressed herself to him only, Jesus Christ, saying, Lord have mercy on me." Sermon of Laurentius, Bishop of Milan in 507. See Mabil. Analecta, p. 56.
4. " They say that the church has erred in forbidding the clergy to marry."	4. " It has not escaped my observation, that in some of the most retired places the clergy discharged the duties of the ministry and priesthood, and had children, which they defend upon the plea of ancient custom." Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. 1 lib. de officiis. cap. 50

Opinions of Ancient Waldenses, &c.	*Opinions of Modern Waldenses, &c.*
3. "And thus he buyeth of his priest absolution. And the priest pardons them be they good or bad. Laying his hands upon their heads, and assuring them that they are absolved. But, alas, they are but imperfectly confessed, And will certainly be deceived in such absolution. And he that maketh them believe it, sinneth mortally. For I dare affirm it to be true, That all the popes who have been, from Sylvester to the present time, And all cardinals, bishops, abbots, and the like Have no power to pardon or absolve one mortal sin. 'Tis God alone who pardons, and none other." Nobla Leyçon.	3. "It is perverse doctrine to attribute efficacy to man, or to his words, or to his authority, or to say that God is satisfied, by satisfying the covetous simony of priests." "Grace and remission of sins can only be looked for by a living faith, and true repentance, saying, 'repent ye, and believe in the Gospel.'" Ancient Catechism now in use.
4. "Marriage is good, holy, honourable, instituted of God himself, and ought not to be prohibited to any person, provided that there be no hinderance specified by the word of God." Ancient Confession of Faith.	4. The Waldensian clergy of the present day enter freely into the married state.

Some of Reiner's marks, &c.

Opinions corresponding, &c.

The letter of Ratherius, Bishop of Verona in 933, contains some indignant observations against those clergy who persisted in marrying, contrary to the Canons. See Spicil. Dacherii. 2. p. 169, 170. 172.

" You permit the clergy of your church, of whatever order they may be, to have wives, as if they were under the sanction of lawful matrimony." Letter of Petrus Damianus to Eunibertus, Bishop of Turin, about the year 1050. See Dam. Oper. p. 559. opus. 18.

It is clear, therefore, that the opinion of many of the sacerdotal order was then against this rigid enactment of the church, and that some refused obedience to it [1].

5. " They assert that any doctrine which is preached, and cannot be proved by Scripture, should be held as fabulous.

" They say that the Holy Scripture is as effectual in the vulgar as in the Latin tongue.

" They officiate and administer the sacraments in the vulgar tongue."

5. The liturgy of the church of Milan, called Ambrosian, had the psalms and other scriptural passages rendered into the Italic language. See Allix, Churches of Piemont, p. 39.

" That no man believe that God is not to be prayed to except in one of the three languages, because man will be

[1] The 9th canon of the Lateran council, held in 1139, is a fulmination against such Priests as persisted in matrimony; and it cites the enactments of Gregory VII. Urban, and Paschal. The practice which required these successive prohibitions was evidently of long standing, and a matter of ancient and resolute contention.

Opinions of Ancient Waldenses, &c.

5. "We have always accounted, as an unspeakable abomination before God, all those human inventions which are a prejudice to the liberty of the spirit."

The Holy Scripture containeth sufficient doctrines concerning discipline, and not only sheweth how every one in particular ought to live, but also what ought to be the union, consent, and bond of love in the communion of the faithful." Ancient Confession of Faith.

Opinions of Modern Waldenses, &c.

5. "The true Catholic and Apostolic faith is that contained in the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed." Catechism.

"We ought to receive the Holy Scripture as the constant rule of our life and faith; and to believe that the same is fully contained in the Old and New Testament." Confession of Faith published in 1655.

All the services of the Vaudois church are performed in a living language.

Some of Reiner's marks, &c.	*Opinions corresponding, &c.*
	heard in whatever tongue he may pray, and if he be righteous, he will have his petition granted." 52 Can. of Council of Frankfort, A.D. 790, signed by Italian Bishops.
6. "They scorn all canonizations, and the vigils of saints. "They despise images, and relics, and call the holy cross nothing but a piece of wood."	6. "Holy Rachel, that is the Church or wisdom, hid the consecrated images, because the Church does not acknowledge vain imaginations, or the vain representations of images." Ambrose of Milan. de fug. sæc. lib. 5. "What is so unworthy as to venerate a piece of wood the work of our own hands. Let them learn wisdom from this, who think that it is neither contrary to nature nor disgraceful, to adore stones, and to implore aid from images which have no perception. Ibid. de officiis. lib. i. cap. 26. "We owe no religious worship to those who are departed from this life, because they lived religiously." Claude, Bishop of Milan, A.D. 840. See Mab. Analecta. p. 36. "God commands us to bear our cross, not to worship it." Ibid. Bib. Patr. tom. iv. p. 164.

Opinions of Ancient Waldenses, &c.	*Opinions of Modern Waldenses, &c.*
6. "He forbade service unto idols." Nobla Leyçon.	6. "That those who are already in possession of eternal life by their faith and good works, ought to be considered as saints and glorified persons, and to be praised for their virtues, and imitated in all good actions of their life, but neither worshipped nor prayed unto, for God only is to be prayed unto, and that through Jesus Christ." Confession of 1655.
"The work of Antichrist perverts the worship properly due to God alone, by giving it to the creature, to saints deceased, to images, carcases, and relics, to things senseless, and insensible." Treatise on Antichrist.	"Dost thou adore or worship any other thing? No. Because of the commandment, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." Catechism now in use.

Some of Reiner's marks, &c.	*Opinions corresponding, &c.*
7. "They do not honour the sepulchres of the saints, and they deny that masses, prayers, or oblations, can profit the dead."	7. "Therefore when she understood that the pious bishop (Ambrose of Milan) had forbidden honour to be paid at the graves of departed believers, lest it should seem to be in imitation of the superstitious practices of the Gentiles, she willingly abstained." Quoted as a record of the opinion of Ambrose bishop of Milan. Conf. Aug. lib vi. cap. 2.
8. "They maintain that it is sinful to take an oath, and cite Matthew, v. 34. against all swearing."	8. Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia, in the fifth century, maintained that the Gospel forbids all kinds of swearing. See Serm. 2. p. 168. and Bib. Patr. tom. 5. p. 976. "Since all oaths are forbidden to Christians, it is highly reprehensible that priests should compel others to do that, which they ought to avoid themselves. For Christ says, I say unto you swear not at all." Atto, bishop of Verceil, A.D. 950. Spicil. Dacherii. vol. 8. p. 50.

Opinions of Ancient Waldenses, &c.	*Opinions of Modern Waldenses, &c.*
7. "The priest promises him pardon, and tells false tales, about saying mass for him and his ancestors." Nobla Leyçon. "The errors and impurities of Antichrist, are pilgrimages, oblations, sacrifices of great price, celebrations of masses, vespers, vigils, intercessions, deliverances from purgatory." Treatise on Antichrist. "They pretend that every faithful man ought to help the departed by prayers, fasts, alms, and masses." Dream of purgatory.	7. "A dead faith is to believe in other things besides Christ: that is to say, in relics of the dead, in worshipping, honouring, and serving the creature by prayers, by fasting, by sacrifices, by donations, by offerings, by pilgrimages, by invocations, &c." Ancient Catechism now in use.
8. "The old law forbiddeth only to foreswear. The new saith, swear not at all. And let thy speech be yea and nay." Nobla Leyçon.	8.

SECTION IV.

THE PURITY OF THE WALDENSIAN CHURCH, AND THE TESTIMONY OF THEIR OWN DOCUMENTS.

THE only fair and correct estimate which can be made of the doctrine and discipline of a religious community, is that which is formed upon their own documents and declarations—"Judge of us, not from the articles of faith which our enemies have drawn up in our name, but from those which we ourselves have deliberately framed, of which we have signified our approbation, and which we have solemnly and publicly avowed." This is what every Christian body has a right to demand, and the Waldenses, happily for their own sakes, and for the cause of truth, can point to treatises, to confessions of faith, to catechisms, and other instruments of unquestionable authenticity, and of great antiquity, by which they are willing to be tried. "These," say they, "contain the sentiments of our forefathers, and our own—they are of seven hundred years standing at the least, and herein is be found a plain exposition of the belief, the discipline, and the morality of the Waldensian Church. "The Noble Lesson,—"The Ancient Confession of Faith,"—"The Catechism of the Ancient Waldenses,"—and "The Treatise of An-

tichrist[1]," are the principal documents to which an appeal is made.

These are believed by the Vaudois themselves to belong to the beginning of the 12th century, and to have been composed between 1100, and 1120. The dates were found on some old parchment copies, which were saved from destruction during the persecutions of the seventeenth century. Competent judges, admitting the antiquity of some, have been inclined to question the age of others of these MSS. but, after having given my best attention to the subject, I cannot come to any other conclusion than this; if any of the copies, bearing upon the face of them the dates 1100 and 1120, contain internal evidence that they were written in the 13th or 14th centuries, they also contain internal proof of consisting, in part, of transcripts from MSS. of an age quite as remote as any for which we would contend. It is likely, that some of the treatises were originally composed in 1100 and 1120; that, from these, transcripts were occasionally made at after periods, which contained, in addition to their original matter, certain interpolations, such as divisions of Scriptural passages by chapter and

[1] See Leger's Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises, and Morland's "History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont," for copies of these expositions. It is there stated that several copies of very ancient appearance have been preserved, with dates noted upon each, some of 1100, others of 1120, one of 1126.

verse, which came into use at after periods. It is also possible that other slight characteristics of later times may have found their way into new copies from time to time, accordingly as they were multiplied at different intervals. It is not contended that all the MSS. bearing the date 1100, were the identical and original documents of that year. All that we maintain, as to the disputed parchments, is this, that instruments of the same name, purport, and description as those, which are now referred to for a faithful exposition of Waldensian principles, were promulgated at the beginning of the twelfth century.

I have already shewn, (page 40) that the "Treatise of Antichrist," and that on "The invocation of Saints," bear this internal evidence of their antiquity, that professing to point out the evils of the Roman Church, they are silent upon those four glaring, but more recent, abuses, the establishment of the inquisition, the invention of the service of the rosary, transubstantiation, and canonization. "The Noble Lesson" speaks for itself—it presents its own date, 1100, and the name of the people for whom it was composed, thus :—

"Brethren, give ear to a noble lesson.
One thousand and one hundred years are accomplished
since it was written "we are in the last times."
— Such an one is termed a Vaudois, (Vaudés.)
And they seek occasion, by lies and by deceit,
To deprive him of that which he has obtained by his labour."

Some objection has been made even against the alleged date of this document. It is said, that the citation, "We are in the last times," is taken from 1 John ii. 18. and therefore the eleven hundred years must be reckoned not from the birth of Christ, but from the age of the Epistle, which cannot have been written earlier than 68 A.D. If there be any thing in this sort of objection, we may argue, that the citation, not being literal, is as likely to be from Acts ii. 17. 2 Tim. iii. 1. Hebrews i. 2. 1 Pet. i. 5. 20. 2 Pet. iii. 3. or from Jude 18, as from St. John's Epistle, and that upon this principle we are justified in contending for as early a date as 1130, computing from the period alluded to in Acts ii. 17.

The passage, however, is not to be considered a quotation from any one particular passage, but an allusion to Christ's first coming, which was to prepare us for his last coming. It was one of those modes of writing down the year from the Incarnation, which was not uncommon: and to this we may add, that considering how the chronological arrangement of Scripture has perplexed the most learned among theologians, it is absurd to suppose that the humble and obscure Waldensian, who composed the Noble Lesson, meant to date his poem from the year in which one of the canonical books was written, instead of dating it at large according to the year of our Lord.

The exact antiquity of the Noble Lesson may continue to be a matter of doubt, but of its authenticity, and of that of the other documents which go with it, there can be no dispute. Morland, who brought copies of them to England in 1658, gives the following account in his History of the Churches of Piemont, of the motives which induced him to make researches after those valuable MSS., and of his success.

"Some days before my setting out for Savoy[1], the late Lord Primate of Ireland, (Archbishop Usher) sent for me on purpose to his chamber, and there gave me a very serious and strict charge, to use my utmost diligence in the enquiry after, and to spare no cost in the purchase of all those MSS., and authentic pieces, which might give any light into the ancient doctrine and discipline of those Churches, adding there was nothing in the world he was more curious and impatient to know, as being a point of exceeding great weight and moment for stopping the mouths of our popish adversaries, and discovering the footsteps of our religion in those dark intervals of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. This serious injunction of that reverend and worthy man, together with mine own real inclinations, caused

[1] On his mission from Cromwell to the duke of Savoy, to intercede in behalf of the persecuted Vaudois.

to me leave no stone unturned, nor to lose any opportunity during my abode in those parts, for the real effecting this thing, and although the pope's emissaries had already gathered the more choice clusters, and ripe fruits, yet I met at least with the grape gleanings of the vintage, I mean divers pieces of antiquity, some whereof had been a long time buried under dust and rubbish, others had been scattered about in the valleys, some here, some there, in desert and obscure places, and without a singular providence had never come to light."

Morland brought to England the MSS. so collected, and deposited them in the library of the University of Cambridge. He represents the Noble Lesson as a poem written on parchment, in the language of the ancient inhabitants of the valleys, in a very ancient, but excellent character. He speaks of another MS. the letter of which was almost worn out, but bearing internal evidence of having been written at least 600 or 700 years before (before 1658).

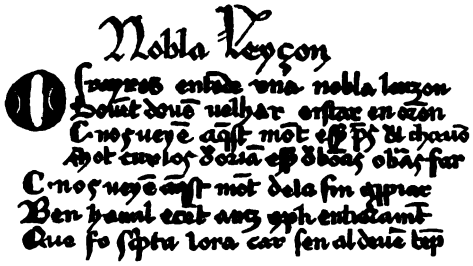
It is to be deeply regretted, that there is no longer an opportunity of examining these venerable documents. Allix[1] had seen them, and found no reason to doubt their authenticity; but they have since disappeared from the library to which they were so carefully consigned. I made enquiries for them at Cambridge, on my return

[1] See Churches of Piemont, p. 184.

from the valleys, after my first visit in 1823, and found that a great number of the most ancient and valuable had been withdrawn. Nobody could tell how or when. The Noble Lesson is one of those which is missing. A transcript of the original, and an English translation is preserved in Morland's volume, but, what is of more consequence, a copy of great antiquity is still existing in the library of the University of Geneva.

Leger[1], the Waldensian historian, speaks of this precious relic, as being "written on parchment, in the old Gothic letter." I have received the favour of a fac-simile of the seven first lines of the copy preserved at Geneva, which is bound up in a small book containing some other Waldensian treatises of a very early period. M. Le Pasteur Bourris, the librarian, is the person to whom I am indebted for the fac-simile. He transmitted it to me in the spring of the present year, 1830, through my friend, Mr. Burgess, the English chaplain at Geneva, and I insert an exact imitation of it, that the learned in these things may have an opportunity of judging of the æra in which this copy was transcribed. Either it is not the same of which Leger made mention, or he misapplied the term Gothic, which is a character of very different form.

[1] Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises, Liv. 1. p. 26.



NOBLA LEYÇON.

O frayres entẽde una nobla lenzon
Sovẽt devẽ velhar erstar en ōzon
C' nos veyẽ aq̄st mōt esr p̄s del chavō
Mot curios d'oriā essr d' boās obās far
C' nos veyẽ aq̄st mōt dela fin apprar
Ben ha mil ecẽt ann̄s npli entierm̄t
Que fo sc̄pta lora car sen al denẽ tẽp.

"I will defy the impudence of the devil himself," said Allix [1], "to find the least shadow of Manichæism" in the "Noble Lesson:" and I take upon myself to add, that not one word can be found in this faithful witness of the religious opinions of the early Waldenses, which savours of heterodoxy, fanaticism, or extravagance. It is a poem composed in rhyming verse, to facilitate its being learnt by heart, and is a summary, as Leger has represented it to be,

1. Of the history of the creation.
2. Of the state of the world before the deluge.
3. Of the state of the world from the deluge to the time of Abraham.

[1] Churches of Piemont, p. 181.

4. Of the patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations, laws, polity, morals, &c.
5. Of the sins of the Israelites, and the judgments of God.
6. Of David, and other good kings and prophets.
7. Of the captivity in Babylon.
8. Of the return from Babylon.
9. Of the advent of Jesus Christ, and a parallel between the Law and the Gospel.
10. Of the mission of the apostles, the descent of the Holy Ghost, and primitive Church.
11. Of the gross erorrs of the papacy, the simony of the priesthood, masses and prayers for the dead, the impostures of absolution, and the abuse of the power of the keys.

"Thus," says Leger, "the poem is certainly an abridgement of the history and doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and was composed for practical and controversial purposes in relation both to faith and morality, and those wise Barbes, our ancestors, desired to place this treasure of divinity in the hands of their people in a metrical form, to render the perusal of it more agreeable, and that the young might the more easily impress it upon their memory [1]."

We will now try the religion and morality of the ancient Waldenses by this test—and having shewn how they rejected the abuses of the Church dominant, we will bring forward passages from the Noble Lesson in attestation of their strict adhesion to the essential doctrines of the Gospel.

[1] Leger, Liv. i. p. 30.

The Trinity . . " The honor of God the Father should be his first moving principle.
He should also implore the aid of his glorious Son,
And of the Holy Ghost, which lights us to the right way.
These three, the Holy Trinity, as being but one God, should be worshipped.

Original Sin. . . How came this evil to enter into mankind ?
Because Adam sinned at the first beginning, he brought death upon himself and all his posterity.

Redemption. . . But Christ hath redeemed the good by his death and passion.

Free Will . . . God gave man a power of doing good or evil, but commanded him to do the good and abstain from the evil.

Law and the Gospel. Christ changed not the law, that it should be abandoned,
But renewed it that it might be better kept.

Baptism. . . . . He ordained baptism as a means of salvation, and commanded the apostles to baptize the nations. Then began the regeneration.

Faith and Works. The Scripture saith and it is evident,
That if any man loves the good, he must needs love God and Jesus Christ.
Such an one will neither curse, swear, nor lie.
Neither will he commit adultery, nor kill.
Nor will he defraud his neighbour.
Nor will he avenge himself of his enemies.

Jesus Christ. . Then God sent the angel to the Virgin of royal descent, saying, the Holy Ghost shall overshadow thee.

His birth. . . . Thou shalt bear a son, whom thou shalt call Jesus.

	He shall save his people from their sins.
	And there were many miracles when the Lord was born.
Crucifixion. . .	The Jews were they which crucified him.
Resurrection. .	He rose again the third day out of the grave.
Ascension. . .	Then our Saviour ascended into glory.
Descent of Holy Ghost.	At the feast of Pentecost he sent them the Holy Ghost.
Scriptures. . . .	If we would love Christ and know his doctrine—
	We ought to watch and to read the Scriptures.
Ministration of the Word.	This they ought to do who are pastors.—
	They ought to preach to the people and pray with them.
	And feed them often with divine doctrine.
	And master sinners by discipline.—
	That is by declaring that they ought to repent,
	That they fast and give alms, and pray with fervent hearts,
	For by these means the soul finds salvation.
Marriage. . . .	That he keep firm the marriage tie, that noble contract.
	The old law had power to annul marriage,
	And to grant bills of divorce;
	But the new law saith, what God hath joined let no man put asunder.

Such are some of the leading topics discussed in the Noble Lesson.

In the Treatise of Antichrist, co-eval with the Noble Lesson—the doctrines of justification, sanctification, and salvation through Christ alone, are propounded with more emphasis.

Salvation thro' Christ alone.	"Be it known that the cause of our non-conformity is this, namely, for the real truth's

sake of the faith, and by reason of our inward knowledge of the only true God, and the unity of the divine essence, in three Persons, which knowledge flesh and blood cannot afford—for the living hope through Christ in God—for regeneration and the inward renewing by faith, hope, and charity —for the merit of Jesus Christ, with the all-sufficiency of his grace and righteousness—for the communion of saints, for the remission of sins—for a holy conversation."

The Church. . . The ministerial truths are these, the outward congregation of the pastors with the people in convenient places, and time to instruct them in the truth by the ministry, and leading, establishing, and maintaining the Church in the truths aforesaid.

The things which the ministers are obliged to do for the service of the people are these—the preaching of the word by the Gospel—the administration of the sacraments [1].

The forms of ordination, and the number of orders are not mentioned, either in the Noble Lesson, or in the Treatise of Antichrist, but in an old MS. concerning discipline, we find the following clauses.

"And afterwards having good testimonials and being well approved of, they are received with imposition of hands.

[1] In several of the MSS. it is declared that the Waldenses believed in two sacraments only, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

" Among other privileges which God hath given to his servants is this, to choose the governors of the people, and priests in their several offices, according to the diversity of the work in the unity of Christ, according to the apostle's example, ' For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed.' "

This quotation evidently implies that the ancient Waldenses had degrees in the sacerdotal orders.

The successive generations of the Waldenses, from the æra in which these expositions of faith and discipline were composed to the present time, have maintained the same opinions, and have avowed them from time to time by public acts and instruments.

In the year 1556, they presented a confession of faith to the parliament of Turin, in which they thus explained themselves [1].

1. " We believe in all that is written in the Old and New Testaments, and which is briefly comprised in the Apostles' Creed.

2. We acknowledge and receive the holy sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ, according to the true meaning of their institution.

3. We approve of all that is contained in the Creeds, sanctioned by the four first general councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon. We also believe in the Creed of Athanasius.

4. We abide by the Ten Commandments of God, contained

[1] Leger, Liv. 1. p. 106.

in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, and in the fifth chapter of Deuteronomy.

5. We yield obedience to our superiors placed over us by God, and we desire to submit to them in all which is not repugnant to the commandments of God, who is sovereign Lord and Master of us all. In this religion our fathers and mothers have continued for many centuries, always protesting that they were ready to forsake their errors if it could be shewn that they were in error."

In 1655, a confession, the same in substance, was published by the Vaudois, during the persecutions of that year: in this they declared, "We do agree in sound doctrine, with all the Reformed Churches of France, Great Britain, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, and others, as it is represented by them in their confession, as also we receive the confession of Augsburgh, as it was published by the authors of it."

This manifesto was accompanied by the following denial and disavowal of the sentiments imputed to them by their adversaries.

"Being accused of holding, 1. That God is the author of sin.

2. That God is not omnipotent.

3. That Christ was not impeccable.

4. That Jesus Christ being upon the cross fell into despair.

5. That man is like a stock or stone in the actions whereunto he is moved by the Holy Spirit for his own salvation.

6. That upon account of predestination it is an indifferent thing, whether we live well or ill.

7. That good works are not necessary to salvation.

8. That repentance and confession of sins are absolutely condemned among us.

9. That fastings and other mortifications ought to be rejected, and that we may live dissolutely.

10. That it is lawful for every one to interpret the Scripture according to his own mind, and the motions of his own spirit.

11. That the Church may fall absolutely, and be reduced to nothing.

12. That baptism is not at all necessary.

13. That in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, we have no real communion with Jesus Christ, but only in figure or type.

14. That we need not submit ourselves to kings, princes, or magistrates, nor yield obedience to them.

15. Because we do not pray to the Virgin Mary and the Saints, we are accused of despising them, whereas, on the contrary, we account them to be happy and worthy of praise and imitation; and do the more especially esteem the glorious Virgin, the blessed above all other women.

All these things, being falsely imputed to us, are held to be heretical and damnable by our Churches; and we do with all our hearts denounce anathemas against all those who maintain and hold the same [1]"

From these and similar sentiments, from opinions held to be orthodox by the joint consent of all the reformed Churches in Europe, the Vaudois of the present day have not departed. In witness of this, I refer to the latest publications of the Waldensian clergy, to their catechisms and books of instruction[1], to the Letters of the late

[1] See the History by Morland, p. 70, 71.

[2] Recent cavillers have accused the present Waldenses of holding opinions inconsistent with the doctrine of the Trinity.

Moderator Peyran, and his Historical Defence of the Waldenses—to the eloquent work of Timoleon Peyran, the Moderator's nephew, now pastor of Maneille, entitled "Considérations sur les Vaudois, ou les Habitans des Vallées du Piemont," printed in 1825,—and to the plain and simple statements contained in a recent publication, "Notice sur l'Etat actuel des Eglises Vaudoises Protestantes, des Vallées du Piemont," supposed to have been written by one of the most eminent of the living clergy of this ancient Church. I refer also to the "Livre de Famille" of M. Bert, the pious and distinguished pastor of La Tour, just published at Geneva. These all cite triumphantly the ancient confessions and expositions of their forefathers, subscribe their names to those venerable documents, from which I have selected the extracts above, and continue to uphold the reputation of their Church, the only relic of the primitive Church in Italy.

The late Moderator Peyran's defence of his countrymen, against the false charges of Arianism and Manichæism, contains a passage, which I am

The following is extracted from one of their catechisms now in use.

"Jesus Christ, est il Dieu ou Homme?
Il est vrai Dieu, et vrai Homme."

Jesus Christ, is he God or Man?
He is very God, and very Man.

tempted to translate, and to lay before my readers, for the sake of its indignant refutation of a calumny, which has never had the least foundation in truth.

"I come now to the odious accusation of Arianism and Manichæism, which has been so often renewed against our forefathers, and as often rebutted, to the honour of their faith and innocence. And here I might expose those base artifices which have been employed to confound the Vaudois with the Arians and Manichæans. Even the titles of books have been changed, that the world may be persuaded, that there is no difference between our principles and the tenets of those heretics of old. Lucas Tudensis wrote against divers sects, and entitled his book 'Concerning another Life, and Controversies of Faith;' and behold, the Jesuit Mariana, to make it appear that the book was written against none but the Albigenses, was pleased to send it into the world under this name, 'Against the Errors of the Albigenses.' Ebrard de Bethune composed a treatise against the Manichæans, which he simply called 'Antihæresis.' And what does another Jesuit do with this? Gretser boldly changes the title, and publishes it as a work 'Against the Vaudois,' in order that posterity might believe that the Vaudois were the Manichæans whom Ebrard had refuted. But the Vaudois and the Albigenses were neither Manichæans nor Arians at the beginning of the twelfth century. This

appears on the face of that ancient monument of their faith, the Noble Lesson, composed in the year 1100. In that exposition of their faith is found enough to clear them from the double calumny—for it contains a subscription to the doctrines of the Old Testament, which the Manichæans rejected, and an acknowledgment of the divinity of the Son. 'As we adore the Holy Trinity.' Is this the language of Arians? Nor were the Vaudois Manichæans or Arians when they published their Catechism or Formulary of Faith, in the shape of a dialogue, in the year 1100; for there we find a scheme of faith built upon the Old and New Testaments, which is in direct opposition to the impiety of the Manichæans, and upon the Godhead of the Son and the Holy Ghost, which is at variance with the blasphemy of the Arians. Were the Vaudois or Albigenses Manichæans or Arians when St. Bernard said in the twelfth century, 'All heresies have their author—the Nestorians have Nestorius for theirs, the Manichæans have Manes, and the Arians Arius, but this sect have none to call themselves after?'

"They were not Arians or Manichæans when William of Puy-Laurens said of them, 'There are many heretics; there are the Arians, the Manichæans, and the Vaudois; they are all hostile to the Catholic faith, but they are opposed to each other, and the last named dispute with uncommon subtlety against the Manichæans.' They

were neither Arians nor Manichæans in the celebrated conference at Montreal, when their theologians maintained against the Bishop of Osma and the Romish doctors, not the abominations of Manes, or the blasphemies of Arius, but these two cardinal positions, that the faith of the Roman Church had become corrupt, and that the mass was neither instituted nor celebrated by Jesus Christ.

"They were not Arians, nor were they Manichæans, when, after having refused to obey the council of Lombes, [qu.?] they published that famous Confession of Faith, which still appears among the acts of that council, and which is a rejection at once the most explicit and solemn of the errors of both[1]."

RECAPITULATION.

In the preceding pages, I have endeavoured to shew the ground, upon which the Waldenses rest their claims to be considered a pure branch of the primitive Church, and that my readers may have the whole of the argument under one view, the following is a recapitulation of the main points.

I. Immemorial tradition, v. p. 39—48.

II. The situation of the valleys favourable for

[1] See Peyran's Defence of the Waldenses, edited by Mr. Sims, p. 15.

an early reception of the Gospel, and for the preservation of it in its pristine purity, v. p. 48—70.

III. The continued enjoyment of religious privileges and rights, in virtue of treaties so ancient and obligatory, as to imply that they were obtained before the influence of the papal see was at its height, v. p. 70—77.

IV. The incidental mention of an Alpine community in non-conformity with the Latin Church, found in authors of the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, v. p. 77—95.

V. The complaints of the papal authorities and controversialists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, against the extent and long-standing of the Waldensian "heresy," v. p. 95—118.

VI. The strict conformity between the opinions of the ancient and modern Waldenses, and those of the theologians of the north of Italy, before the Italian Churches of that region submitted to the jurisdiction of Rome, v. p. 118—131.

VII. The documents of the Waldenses themselves, some of which are coeval with the year 1100, v. p. 132—150.

The Waldensian MSS. deposited by Morland in the Library of the University of Cambridge.

Since the preceding pages went to press, I have again made inquiries concerning the venerable documents which I found to be missing in 1823,

and I have again ascertained that they are no longer in the place, where they are said to have been deposited.

No traces whatever remain of more than fourteen out of the twenty-one volumes stated by Morland to have been presented by him to the Cambridge University Library, in August 1658. The MSS. which have disappeared, are the most precious of the whole, being the oldest, and those which established the fact of the conformity between the doctrine and discipline of the ancient and present Waldenses. The very writings which Archbishop Usher was so anxious to obtain, as "being of exceeding great weight and moment for stopping the mouths of our Popish adversaries, and discovering the footsteps of our religion in those dark intervals of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries."

Copies of some of them have been preserved, as I before remarked, in the works of Morland and Leger, but it is not only grievous, but somewhat strange, that the pieces of greatest value should be missing from the collection. Not a clue remains by which they can be traced, and I am informed that it is the opinion at Cambridge, either that the seven volumes in question, (those distinguished by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G.) were never sent by Morland to Cambridge with the rest, or, that if sent, they were clandestinely withdrawn or destroyed during the reign of James II.

As to the first supposition, Morland is so express in his representation, many times repeated in his book, that the whole lot and parcel of "rare and authentic Treatises, composed by the ancient inhabitants of the valleys of Piemont," was presented by him as a free gift to the Cambridge library, that I cannot bring myself to doubt his correctness, more particularly since he not only declared in print that he had given the entire collection to the university, but he added also in confirmation of his previous statement, that there they were, and there they were to be seen. "The true originals of *all of which* are to be seen in the public library of the famous university of Cambridge," page 95. of Morland's History of the Churches of Piemont. Allix, who published "Some Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piemont," in 1689 or 1690, made mention of these documents (the documents now missing) in terms which lead the reader to suppose, that he had consulted them at Cambridge, or at least that he knew they were there safe in the place where they had been consigned. "But beyond this we have a piece dated after the year 1100 of our Lord, entitled the Noble Lesson, which is in the public library of the university of Cambridge, given by Sir Samuel Morland in the year 1658," page 175.—"The gentlemen of the university of Cambridge, who have in their custody the MSS. of divers pieces of

the Waldenses, and amongst them an old MS. of some books of the Old and New Testament (contained in volumes E and F) give me a fair occasion to make this comparison," &c. page 184.

The opinion now held at Cambridge is, that there is no proof that the lost MSS. were ever confided to the university. There can be little doubt, it is said, that Morland intended to send the whole collection to Cambridge, and therefore he stated in his work that they might be seen there—but from some circumstance or other they may never have arrived, for there is no mention or memorandum of them in any catalogue that can be found, although several catalogues do make mention of the 14 volumes which remain. It is also contended at Cambridge, that the observations of Allix do not go the length of asserting that he himself had consulted the MSS., but contain nothing more than a loose remark, hazarded upon the credit which he attached to Morland's own statement of their being to be seen in the university library.

The other ground which is taken up at Cambridge, is this. If the lost MSS. ever did arrive at their destination, they very soon disappeared: most probably during the reign of James II. The reason assigned for this suspicion rests upon the precautions taken by Tennison, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who, having cause to fear that the papists were ransacking the libraries at

Cambridge, and destroying or removing what was offensive to them, had attested copies taken of the valuable MSS. in Corpus Christi College relating to the Reformation.

Such are the conjectures afloat in relation to the matter in question.—The real facts in elucidation of it are these.

A catalogue of the university library printed in 1690, says nothing about any of the Morland MSS. But this is no authority, because it was copied from one compiled before he made the present of his collection.

Another made in 1753, speaks of the 14 volumes only which yet remain, those from H to W.

In 1794, Nadsmith completed a catalogue of the MSS. in the university library, at which time seven volumes of the Morland MSS. and the box of papers marked X were missing, and it would seem from the following extract from Nadsmith's catalogue, that nobody had any knowledge of the manner in which they had disappeared.

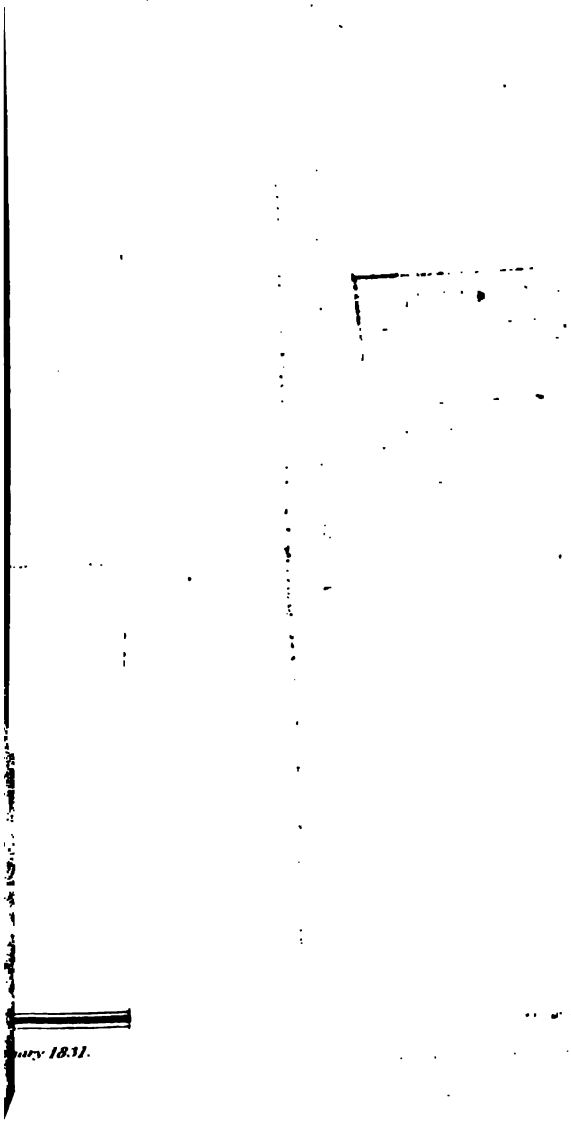
" No. 112—125.

" Fourteen thin paper books in folio (now bound in five volumes) containing

" Original papers relating to the Waldenses, particularly to the massacre of 1655, collected by Sir Samuel Morland, the Protestant envoy in 1655 to the duke of Savoy. Sir Samuel has printed a considerable part of them in his History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of

Piemont, to which he has prefixed a catalogue o the MSS. From this catalogue it appears tha the collection originally consisted of 21 volume and a box of papers, severally marked with th letters of the alphabet. Seven volumes and th box are now wanting; the fourteen remaining w shall describe in the words of Sir Samuel Mo land's catalogue, with such slight alterations a the present state of the MSS. requires. Th volumes marked A, B, C, D, E, F, G, are wanting.

Such being the state of the case, and since th lost MSS. were missing from the library in 179 and in 1753—and no light was thrown at eithe of these periods upon the manner in which they had been removed, I fear all trace must now b considered as entirely gone, and nothing but accident will clear up the mystery which hangs about them.



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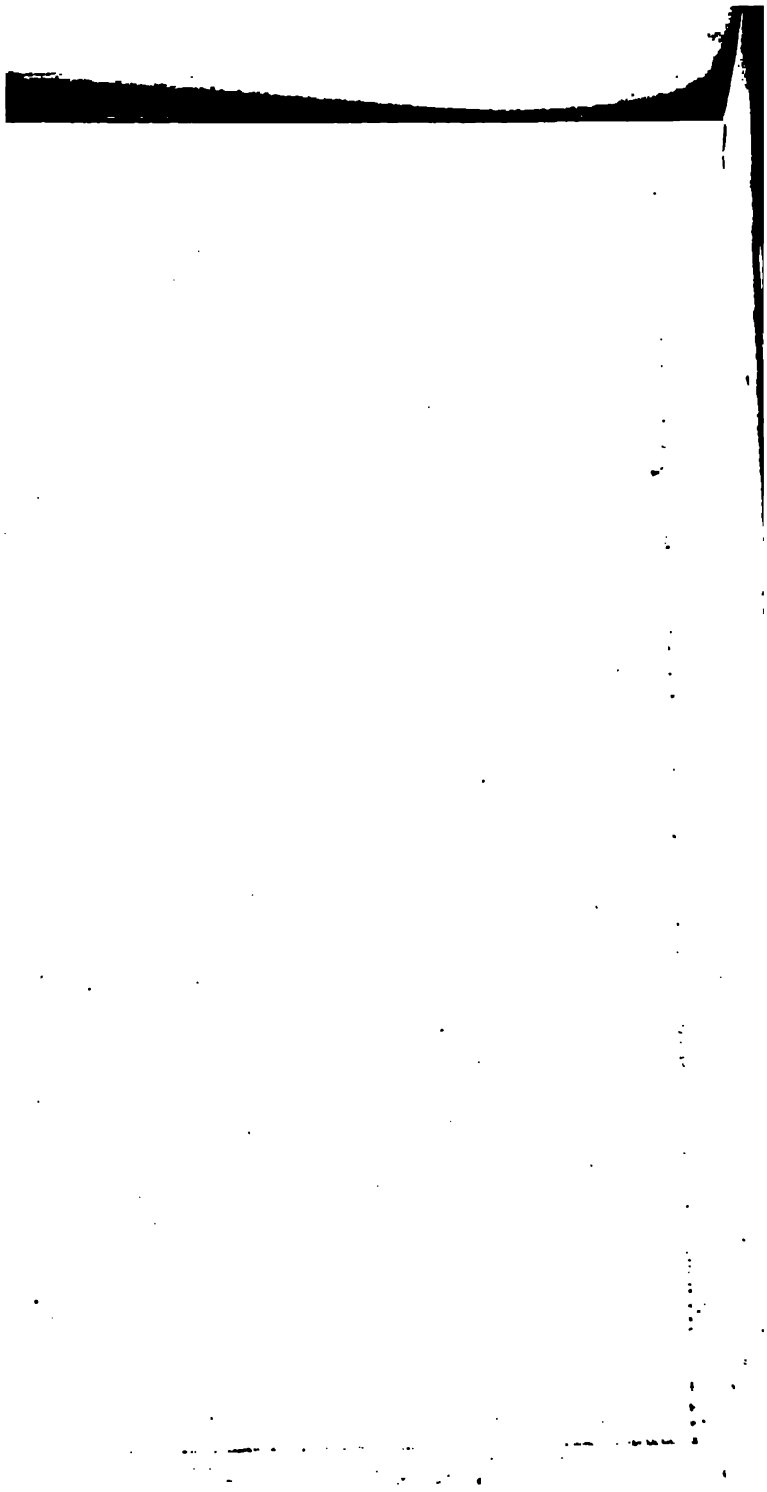


CHAPTER I.

Objects of my journey. Route by Calais—Amiens—Paris—Jura Mountains — Geneva — Chambery — Mont Cenis—Turin—Pinerolo to La Torre. Reception in the valleys. San Margarita. Observations on Vaudois character.

THE object of my second visit to the Vaudois was threefold. First, and principally, I was desirous of judging, upon personal observation and enquiry, how certain sums of money placed at my disposal might be best employed, not only for the benefit of the Waldensian Church, but for the advantage of the Protestant cause at large, in this its only strong hold in Italy. "The men of the valleys" have a claim upon our interest, not merely as descendants of the ancient Waldenses, but as borderers and occupiers of some of the most important Alpine passes between France and Italy, on the chain that connects Mont Cenis and Mont Viso: and what is more, as maintaining the extraordinary position of a frontier Church, and a primitive Church, upon the very point where, as beacons and signal stations, they may be of the greatest use. The faith of the first centuries, and

the forms of early Christianity, like visions of departed loveliness, have lingered here among these mountaineers, when they fled from other regions.

Extrema per illos
Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

And this is the spot from which it is likely that the great Sower will again cast his seed, when it shall please him to permit the pure Church of Christ to resume her seat in those Italian states, from which pontifical intrigues have dislodged her. I was therefore anxious to be upon the ground again, and to ascertain what institutions might be established or strengthened, to serve as a base, from which lines of communication may be extended, and movements conducted upon a greater scale at some future and more favourable period.

My second object was to see how far that aid had proved effectual which had already been extended to the Vaudois, and to examine into the condition of the hospital[1] and schools, which

[1] The following extracts from the Report of the London Committee, published March, 1830, will shew the amount and the appropriation of the money collected in behalf of the Vaudois, after the public appeals made in 1824.

No. I. Makes mention of the sum total raised among the Reformed Churches, for the Hospital. The contributions from France, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and some of the German states were remitted at once, and made up the sum of 105,000 francs, (4,200*l.*) The amount of the English, Prussian, and Dutch subscriptions was funded.

No. II. Contains a detailed account of the money (7,302*l.*

have been founded and endowed by funds raised in the Protestant countries of Europe, principally in England.

7*s.* 4*d.*) which has been raised in the British dominions, through the exertions of the London Committee, for the several purposes therein expressed, in aid of the Hospital, and of General and Ministerial Education.

The Government payment to the Vaudois pastors, of 277*l.* annually, called the Royal stipend, and restored in 1827, is not included in this account.

No. I.

THE HOSPITAL.

"This Institution, comprising the Establishment in chief at La Tour in the Valley of Lucerne, and the Dispensary at Pomaret in the Valley of Perouse, owes its origin to public subscriptions raised among the Protestant states of Europe, [since 1824.] Out of the sums so collected, the Vaudois received, in capital, about 105,000 francs. The remainder was placed in the public funds of England, Prussia, and Holland; and the Interest is remitted annually, for the maintenance of the Hospital and Dispensary.

Of the 105,000 francs received by the Vaudois themselves, an account has been communicated to the following effect, in round numbers:

	Francs.
Purchase of an estate at La Tour, consisting of about 56 journaux or acres, with farm-house and buildings, and yielding an annual rent of 2000 francs	56,000
Purchase of a building and vineyard at La Tour, which has since been converted into a house and garden for the hospital—in addition to an annuity to the proprietor of 460 francs	4,000
Furniture and outfitting of the hospital	5,000

I may confess that I set out with sanguine expectations upon this subject; and if I did not hope to find that the sums of money remitted to

	Francs.
Purchase of a house at Pomaret, to serve for a dispensary, with charges for furniture, outfitting, &c.	16,000
Expenses of collecting the above, travelling expenses, of the Vaudois agent, &c. &c. extending through two or three years	16,000
Balance invested in a mortgage.....	8,000
Total....	105,000

INCOME OF THE HOSPITAL.

	Francs.
Receipts from England annually, (120*l.* for hospital, 30*l.* for dispensary,) 150*l.* or	3,750
From Prussia, ditto ditto, 150*l.* or	3,750
From Holland.....	2,500
Rent of Hospital estate at La Tour	2,000
Interest of 8,000 francs on mortgage.....	320
Total....	12,320

No. II.

ABSTRACT *of the* TREASURER'S ACCOUNT, *from the Establishment of the* LONDON VAUDOIS COMMITTEE, *(May 26th,* 1825,) *to the* 31*st of December* 1829.

1.—MONEY IN THE BRITISH FUNDS.

		Interest.		
5,000*l.* 3 per Cent. Consols	£.	150	0	0
800*l.* 3 per Cent. Reduced		24	0	0
1,200*l.* 3½ per Cents.		42	0	0
	£.	216	0	0

the valleys had been expended there, in a manner likely to please all parties equally, yet I felt

2.—ANNUAL PAYMENTS.

	£.	s.	d.
Towards the Support of the Hospital at La Tour	120	0	0
Ditto. of the Dispensary at Pomaret	30	0	0
For the Education of Young Persons intended for the Ministry	20	0	0
For the Support of Four Girls' Schools of Industry	40	0	0
Annuity to M. Combe	4	0	0
	£. 214	0	0

3.—TREASURER Dr. ON CASH ACCOUNT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1. Subscriptions raised in the British Dominions:						
Received for Hospital and General Purposes	5181	15	9	6417	14	0
Received for Education of young Persons intended for the Ministry	635	18	7			
Received for Schools	599	19	8			
2. Interest on Stock, for the Year 1826	150	0	8	791	5	8
Ditto. 1827	209	5	0			
Ditto. 1828	216	0	0			
Ditto. 1829	216	0	0			
3. Gained by Sale of Exchequer Bills in the Year 1826				6	10	2
4. Received for the payment of M. Combe's Annuity of 4*l.* a-year, as mentioned in the Report of June 19th, 1827				86	17	6
				£.7302	7	4

assured that they had been appropriated, so as to do credit to the disinterestedness of those to whom they had been confided.

4.—TREASURER Cr. ON CASH ACCOUNT.

1. By the Purchase of Stock				£. 5974	5	11
2. Transmitted to the Valleys, by order of the Committee:						
In remittances for 1826, *previously* to their final adjustment.....	£. 135	s. 0	d. 0			
Ditto, ditto, for 1827	184	10	0			
Ditto, ditto, for 1828, *after* the final adjustment	214	0	0			
Ditto, ditto, for 1829, ditto, ditto	214	0	0			
Paid to the Officers of the Table, in June 1826, for a special Purpose of Education; agreed upon between the said Officers and Messrs. Sims and Plenderleath	87	2	0			
				834	12	0
3. Disbursements:						
In the Years 1824, 1825, 1826, for Advertisements in a variety of Newspapers, printing Circulars, Historical Accounts of the Vaudois, Notices of Meetings, &c. &c.; Stationery, &c. &c. &c...	186	12	8			
In 1827: the principal item of which is the Bill for printing the Report of June 19th, 1827, together with the List of Subscribers	23	3	10			
				209	16	6
Carried forward....				£. 7018	14	5

A noble proof was displayed of the benevolent and upright feelings prevailing among the Vaudois, when the British government, at the intercession of the London Vaudois Committee, restored the royal stipend in the year 1827, after more than twenty years' suspension. A communication was then made to them to this effect: "You will again receive the British stipends which were withdrawn during the war which so long interrupted the intercourse between England and the continental states, and 277*l.* will be remitted annually to be divided as before, between the thirteen pastors of the Waldensian Church." This would have given

Disbursements—*(continued.)*			£.	s.	d.
Brought forward....			7018	14	5
In 1828: the principal item of which is a Bill of 27*l.* 9*s.* for the purchase of a Case of Surgical Instruments, Freightage, &c.; for the use of the Hospital at La Tour	40	11 3			
In 1829: the principal Item of which is a Bill for a Case of Surgical Instruments, Freightage, &c.; for the use of the Infirmary at Pomaret	30	1 11			
			70	13	2
4. Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, December 31st, 1829; of which a part has been reserved for Special Purposes, by order of the Committee; and 100*l.* 3 per Cent. Consols has since been added to the General Fund..			212	19	9
			£.7302	7	4

about 21*l.* to each pastor. They met in synod, and came to the following resolution: "We are to receive 6,800 francs a year from the English government. We will not divide the whole of it among ourselves, but we will reserve part of it for public purposes. We will take 300 francs each, instead of 523, and we will devote the remainder, amounting to 2,900 francs, towards the maintenance of aged or incapacitated pastors, and the widows of pastors, and towards the appointment of two additional pastors in the more remote districts, where the ministerial functions are at present inadequately discharged for want of labourers in the harvest." Thus did these good men throw their mites into the treasury of the temple, and make a voluntary sacrifice of not less than one seventh of their scanty incomes; for not one of the pastors receives, with his recent augmentation, more than 60*l.* a year, and much more than half of this is derived from English bounty; viz. from the royal stipend paid by our government, and from the national grant, paid by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts.

The third object which I had in view, was to make myself more fully acquainted with the general condition and character of the Vaudois, and of the state of the Waldensian Church, than I had done during my first short visit, and to correct some of the erroneous opinions which have been formed upon these subjects.

With these intentions I was anxious to make

the best of my way to the valleys with my family party, and to employ my three months' absence from England entirely in this service, without turning aside unnecessarily either to the right or to the left. I can truly say, in the words of one whom it is an honour to take for a guide, that "though I certainly did not shut my eyes to the different objects of interest and beauty near which my route carried me, that I never went out of my way in pursuit of such objects, and went no where where I had not something to perform, or which was not in the direct road to some scene connected with my proposed researches."

We embarked on board the Brocklebank steamboat, near London-bridge, on Wednesday morning at six o'clock, May 27, 1829, expecting to land at Calais on the evening of the same day. But we had not only the disappointment of delay, but the inconvenience of bad weather to encounter, and did not reach Calais till seven o'clock on Thursday evening, after a miserable passage of thirty-seven hours, instead of our promised agreeable trip of twelve. The well known route from the coast to Paris by Abbeville, Amiens, and Chantilly, offered no new subject to write upon, further than this: that, contrary to expectation, we found some interest even in that part of our journey, which is usually thought dull and tiresome. We fancied we saw an appearance of contentment and enjoyment in the French peasantry, and to our eyes several of the hamlets had an air of comfort as

well as prettiness. The general aspect of the country may fairly be pronounced to be unattractive; but when you catch a glimpse of a charming village, like that between Nouvion and Abbeville, which stands nestling among trees, with its neat church and spire, and with every cottage surrounded with a garden or orchard, you travel on through the day in good humour with the people and the landscape. The same may be said of the village of Flixcourt, and the town of Perquigny, on the road to Amiens, both situated on the banks of a stream, and inviting you to be pleased with your excursion. At Amiens we observed much to set the mind at work. We arrived there on Saturday evening, and stayed through the Sunday, expecting to find a Protestant congregation and Protestant service.

But the three hundred gentlemen's houses, and the rustic population, which gave importance to the reformed Church in this neighbourhood in the sixteenth century, have scarcely left a wreck behind them. Very few native Protestant families are remaining in this city or its vicinity, and our visit to the cathedral taught us, that the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy is neither small nor uninfluential at Amiens. At mass and at vespers, the interior of this fine gothic building was crowded. Men, women, and children, of all orders and degrees, presented an appearance of almost rapt devotion. The singing of the vesper's hymn by the whole assembled multitude, and the preaching

of an eloquent canon, who evidently carried the feelings of his hearers with him, were to us additional proofs that religion is on the advance in this part of France at least. A spirit of enquiry is abroad, many are seeking for the peace which the world cannot give; and when they discover that it is not to be obtained before a painting, a relic, or a crucifix, they will seek for it where only it is to be found. Over against a shrine in the cathedral containing a picture of Christ on the cross, a tablet presented this inscription to the eye, "Tronc de la restauration du crucifix miraculeux." I did not learn the exact history of the miraculous crucifix, but I saw many of the credulous put money into the box; and I witnessed enough to understand that the faith of the Vatican is "semper eadem," or "worse and worse," as the Irish student construed it; and that it will continue to be open to the reproach of being idolatrous, so long as those, who make a gain of the superstitious, assign miraculous virtue to objects of sense, and pretend that prostration before a certain picture, or a certain wooden cross, which papal rites have consecrated, is more meritorious than prostration before a picture or a cross, which the Church has not pronounced to be miraculous.

At no great distance from the cathedral, there is a small tavern or wine house with this sign, "A la grace de Dieu." When a priesthood sets the example, and invites attendance at particular shrines or altars, under the fabulous pretence that

such spots, being the scenes of preternatural manifestations, are hallowed by an unusual portion of sanctity, no wonder that vintners and tavern-keepers should have recourse to blasphemous sign-posts, and to similar expedients to attract notice.

We arrived at Paris on Monday night, June 1st, and there I had the good fortune to meet Colonel Beckwith, whose long residence in the Valleys during the last autumn and winter, enabled him to form a most accurate estimate of the present condition and wants of the Vaudois. He was so good as to let me transcribe his notes upon the state of public instruction, the hospital, the resources of the pastors, and other matters connected with the object of my journey; and I should be doing injustice to this judicious and zealous friend of the cause, were I not to state, how much I am indebted to him for the information and suggestions with which he favoured me. Unlike some of my countrymen who have visited the Valleys, he did not come away disappointed and dissatisfied, at not finding the Vaudois far above all human beings, in the scale of virtue and religion; but he judged of them fairly, according to their advantages and disadvantages, their lights, their means, and opportunities, and their local and statistic position in society. I have invariably found, that those who have seen most of the Vaudois, and who have had opportunities of mixing with them, beyond the hasty visit of a few hours or days, have come away adoring the Providence which has preserved

them; deeply impressed with the merits of a community, which has retained so much of ancient simplicity and primitive purity, in spite of all the difficulties by which they are surrounded; and acknowledging the importance of a helping hand to trim the light, which has shone so long in that recess of the Alps, and to lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees.

We were glad to proceed on our journey towards the place of our destination, after a week's stay in the French capital; but instead of travelling into Italy by Lyons, we directed our course towards Geneva. Some of the schemes which I had in contemplation, relative to an improved system of education for the Vaudois, rendered it necessary to consult persons resident at the universities of Geneva and Lausanne, previously to my arrival in the Valleys. We travelled by Fontainbleau, Sens, Dijon, and Poligny, and crossed the Jura mountains, but had not the gratification of gazing upon the lakes of Switzerland, and the glories of Mont Blanc on our descent. The weather was so bad, that we could scarcely see a yard beyond the hôrses' heads.

June 12th. It was some disappointment to find that the vacation had commenced at Geneva, and that the Vaudois students had returned to their homes. Three of them are receiving their education here; and it would have been satisfactory to have had an opportunity of observing, upon the spot, what effect is produced upon the minds and

manners of these young mountaineers, by living in a gay city, and mingling with persons, many of whom profess religious opinions, which are not in strict accordance with the doctrines maintained in their own pure Church.

There have been complaints of the degeneracy of the Vaudois. If there be any truth in this reproach, may we not attribute it in a great degree to the foreign education which their clergy receive, at a period of youth the most critical of all? According to the present state of things, the young men intended for holy orders must necessarily go to Switzerland for instruction. They have no means of obtaining sufficient knowledge in their native valleys. They are unprovided with books, and instructors, and they are tempted to Geneva and Lausanne, by certain exhibitions of the value of about 600 francs a year each, which have been founded by benefactors in Holland. I do not presume to speak of the academies or universities of Switzerland as scenes of dissipation, or of bad example: but I can make no hesitation in expressing my opinion, that new habits, new wants, and wishes, and new opinions, injurious to native simplicity, cannot but be acquired by lads who leave their rustic and secluded habitations on the mountains, and pass the greater part of seven or eight years, from fifteen and sixteen years of age, in a foreign town. Formerly the Vaudois pastors were educated at home, but when the college, or establishment for education at Angrogna, of whatever kind it may have been,

was destroyed, the candidates for ordination had no other resource than to betake themselves to Switzerland.

The evils of the present system have been eloquently deplored by a Vaudois writer, Brezzi, who published a history of the Vaudois about thirty-five years ago, and who devoted many pages of his book to the consideration of a plan, which might obviate the necessity of expatriating his young countrymen at the most dangerous crisis of their lives. It was simply this; that the Vaudois should petition their friends in Holland to make some slight change in the destination of the grants, which are voted to enable their youth intended for orders to receive a theological education. Let the amount be remitted immediately to the valleys, and let there be added to it that of the annual stipend paid to the master of the Latin school at La Tour. These together would enable the Vaudois to have a more competent establishment of their own, and to appoint two or three professors, who might preside over the studies of the young men destined for ordination. The expense of journeys, and of the charges incurred over and above the 600 francs a year provided for them in Switzerland, would then be spared, so that they might set the value of the cost saved against the loss of the annual exhibitions, and receive an education at once cheaper and safer.

The enchanting banks of Lake Leman threatened to be the Capua, which should detain us in idleness and enjoyment, and divert us from our purpose of hastening to Piemont without unnecessary loss of time. For who can saunter in the gardens, meadows, or corn fields, which run down to the margin of the lake, or glide along in a boat upon its bright blue waters, without being strongly tempted to prolong his stay, and to enjoy that unrivalled prospect of sylvan, pastoral, and mountain scenery, which delight his eye in this favoured spot? On the Swiss side of the lake there are moral as well as natural charms, which gladden the heart; good government, rich cultivation, and secure possession, are conspicuous in every object. Not so on the Savoy shore; there you miss the beautiful villas which grace the other bank—there you see long tracts of marshy and poorly productive land. At Geneva even the line of fortifications tells a tale of happiness and comfort. The foss, and slopes down to it, the scarp and counterscarp, are converted into hay fields or flower parterres, and realize the scriptural image of every man converting his weapons of warfare into implements of husbandry or domestic use.

June 15th. From Geneva we went to Lausanne in a steam-boat; my business there was soon concluded. I was desirous of conferring with Mr. Cheesbrough, the exemplary and highly respected English chaplain, and with M. Monastier, a Vaudois

by birth, and one of the professors of the academy. These gentlemen have been the kind friends, and I may say the kind protectors, of the two sons of the late moderator Peyran, for several years past, while the elder has been pursuing his studies, and the younger learning a trade at Lausanne. The latter in his humble station, by his good conduct and assiduity, has shewn himself well worthy of the kindness which has been extended towards him, and has been enabled by aid of English contributions to put himself in the way of securing a maintenance sufficient and creditable, though it be in a line of life which contrasts strongly with the more refined pursuits of his accomplished father. The elder brother, at the recommendation of "the officers of the table," as the board of ecclesiastical authority is called among the Vaudois, has since been appointed master of the grammar-school at Pomaret, established in May last.

Upon my consulting M. Monastier, the excellent Monastier, as I have often heard him called, on the subject of my enquiries as to the best means of benefiting the Vaudois, he gave me information and advice, to which I attach great value. His affection for his native country, his thorough acquaintance with its condition, and his long experience as an instructor at Lausanne, where the greater number of Vaudois candidates for orders are educated, render him a judicious counsellor in

questions touching the education of the Vaudois. He agrees in the main with Brezzi, and it is his opinion, that the system requires improvement at the fountain head; that if it be indispensable that the Vaudois youth should have their theological education completed in Switzerland, the foundation should at all events be well laid at home: and that they should not be sent away from the paternal roof, at the early age of sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, nor should they pass so many years in their academical career, as must now be the case, so long as they come ill prepared to begin their course of higher studies. "But how," said he, "can this be managed, according to the present state of things? There is but one Latin school in the valleys, that at La Torre. The master is poorly paid, by a salary which does not amount to 1000 francs a year. He has no assistance, and must encounter all the drudgery of teaching little boys their first elements, and urging on the elder scholars. He has neither the time nor the facilities of advancing knowledge beyond a certain point. He has not the command of books, or of any of the materials of superior education."

M. Monastier further stated, that he did not know of any better plan for ameliorating the general condition of the Vaudois, than this, that the friends and protectors of the Waldensian Church should combine their efforts, and establish

an institution, where efficient instruction may be given, not only to the young people who are intended for the ministry, but to those also who are destined to be the regents or masters of the village schools. By this means general improvement will be secured, and they who are to preside over education will be well grounded in those branches of knowledge, which are most essential for a population like that of the valleys.

We returned to Geneva from Lausanne by the same conveyance that brought us thither the day before, a steam-boat. It would be endless to describe the innumerable and varied beauties presented to the eye during the passage from one end of the lake to the other.

> "A blending of all beauties, streams and dells,
> Fruit, foliage, crag, wood, corn-field, mountain, vine."

The strong contrasts, between snowy summits and verdant plains, inaccessible rocks scarped with ice in the distance, and in the foreground the habitations and productions of man betokening comfort and taste, would have kept us in a state of indescribable enjoyment, if a contrast of another kind had not marred it. It is grievous to turn the eye from the Swiss to the Savoy side of the lake. The one beamed and brightened with all that denoted the happiness of a contented people, flourishing under the blessings of free institutions:

the other, as I have before mentioned, displayed no improvements, few or no trading vessels, and small craft in its creeks, no country retreats of wealthy citizens, no indication of prosperity.

June 17th. The same comparison forced itself upon us when we left Geneva, and took the road to Chambery, by Luiset and Aix. As soon as we crossed the barrier, and had passed out of the Swiss into the Sardinian states, pauperism and mendicity, dirt and discomfort, scanty productions, and inferior cultivation, proclaimed the change of masters more than that of soil. And how can it be otherwise? The people are taught to look not to the rewards of industry, for their gratifications, but to the frequent recurrence of holidays and church festivals, when it is penal to work. The labours of the field are suspended, that the processions in honour of some canonized saint may be crowded, and hymns of joy are raised in the streets, while want and misery are brooding at home.

Our journey on the 18th, from Rumilly to St. Jean Maurienne, lay through towns and villages, whose whole population was poured out in honour of a day, which seems to be highly distinguished in the Roman calendar. The houses every where were decorated with boughs of trees, tapestry, or substitutes for tapestry; long arrays of priests and their attendants frequently obliged our postilions to pull up, and at Chambery we were

detained for a considerable length of time, because the official gentlemen, whose business it was to examine our passports, were engaged like the rest in celebrating the fête. The transport or hilarity of the occasion had so intoxicated the man of office, whose inspection and permission were necessary to the continuance of our route, that when he saw my party described in the passport as an ecclesiastic travelling with his wife, he excited a loud laugh among his colleagues at the idea of a married clergyman, and humorously or insolently contrived to word the billet which he gave me in exchange for my passport, so as to make it contain an affronting equivoque.

If these things were calculated to raise unpleasant sensations, two observations served to remove them; most of the children and young people of all degrees, whom I saw going or coming out of the churches, carried books with them, an indication that education is on the advance in the Sardinian dominions. The attention paid by order of government to the convenience of travellers, was another gratifying consideration. There was nothing troublesome or offensive in the search made by the custom-house officers; and a printed bulletin was put into my hands, which was an effectual guard against any imposition on the part of the postmasters. It fully described the distances from place to place between Chambery and

Turin, and the number of horses which each stage required.

Relais d' exchange.	*Posts.*	*Observations.*
Chambery à Montmeillan	2	3 ou 4 chevaux du 10 Oc. au 30 Avr.
Montmeillan à Maltaverne	1½	idem.
- - - - - - - -	-	- - - - - - -
Lans le bourg à Mont Cenis	3	3 ou 4 chevaux du 1 Mai au 30 Oc.
&c.	&c.	&c. &c.

Our passage of the Alps, by Mont Cenis, was made under the most favourable circumstances of season and weather; but, upon the whole, the impression left upon my mind was by no means equal to that when I entered Italy in January 1823. Putting aside the force of anticipation, and the intense interest one takes in being a spectator, for the first time, of the wonders and the beauties of which much has been read, there is an inseparable association in the mind between Alpine grandeur and Alpine difficulties. The keen wintry air, and the scene bounded on each side by icy fragments, or by pines fringed with frost, and the road covered with snow, accorded then more naturally with my preconceived notions of the sublime and formidable Alps, than the green slopes, and smiling foliage, and the warm sunny atmosphere which now greeted us. My companion's sensations were the same; she too

was somewhat disappointed; all was too easy and comfortable to be Alpine. Besides this, the unsafe but picturesque wooden bridges, which were loosely flung over the torrents six years ago, have been taken down and replaced by solid arches of stone, which act in an inverse ratio upon minds bent on the secure or the imposing.

We arrived at Turin on Saturday the 20th of June. The hotel, at which we took up our abode, looked into the Grande Piazza, and the scenes, which we witnessed next day under our windows, were true to the accounts which are usually given of a Sunday on the continent. In one part, soldiers were paraded and marched off to their posts. In another, a religious procession extended its lines from one side of the square to the other. Here a fellow who presided over a blacking stall was holding forth upon the excellency of his commodity, with all the earnestness and fluency of a senator. There a quack-doctor had collected a crowd by the sound of his trumpet, and was dispensing his advice and his medicine out of a four-wheeled open carriage drawn by one horse. At one moment he was haranguing in stentorian tones, which could be heard distinctly in our room: at another, blowing a blast with his trumpet scarcely more loud. We saw him draw the tooth of one patient, and dress the wounds of another, as much to the amusement as to the edification of the by-standers. Not far from him a conjuror was exer-

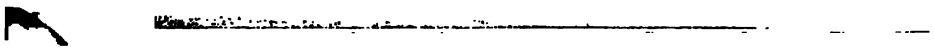
cising his lungs and his ingenuity, and tempting idlers away from the parade, the procession, and the empiric. The clamours of these rivals for public applause, the buz of voices, the rattling of arms, and the sound of military music, mingled strangely with the bells calling to Church, and with the chaunting of the priests in procession. No where is religion more ostentatious, or even more obtrusive than at Turin, and yet the whole of the Lord's day presents the spectacle of a fair, rather than that of a holy convocation, and glad were we to think, that one day more, and the short distance of less than thirty miles, would bring us to the valleys, and restore us to a state of things more resembling those to which we are accustomed at home.

On Monday, the 22nd of June, after having had an interview with Mr. St. George, the British chargé d'affaires, who had just returned from La Torre, full of admiration of the Vaudois, and of kind intentions towards them, we left Turin at about one o'clock, and taking a course south-west, through Nona, Pinerolo, and Bricherasio, we reached La Torre at seven. I cannot adequately describe my feelings, as I approached the well remembered spots, which are almost as dear to me as my native soil. As the mountains neared upon us, after travelling the long plain, and straight line of road which extends from Turin to Pinerolo, it was more like the sensation of

returning home than of going to renew old acquaintanceship. But when Castelluzzo broke upon my view, and the church of San Giovanni, the first Protestant village, rose before me, and when a little afterwards the bridge of La Torre came in sight, my emotions were such as any one on earth might envy. I had one by my side, who understood and participated in the feelings of the moment. If pure and unmixed happiness was ever felt, it was on that evening, when I found myself again within the sacred limits of the Pelice and the Clusone, the seat of Christ's Church from the primitive times to the present. We drove through La Torre to the hamlet of San Margarita, and were received by the pastor of La Torre, M. Bert and his family, most kindly and heartily. It is impossible to say how kindly. Arrangements had been made to accommodate us in the house of M. Bert, and sweet was the sleep we enjoyed in one of the clean and comfortable apartments, which we were invited to consider our own during our stay in the valleys. With that delicacy which belongs to the Vaudois character, every wish and want of ours had been anticipated: and those, who know by experience the inconveniences and deprivations of which English travellers have to complain in the best furnished hotels out of Britain, will comprehend the pleasure we felt at finding a provision of linen, and of basins and water vessels, ample and capacious enough for the most luxu-

rious ablutions. Another mark of attention to their guests' supposed tastes and habits was conspicuous in the room, which M. and Madame Bert had assigned to my especial use. It was the pastor's own study, well stocked with books, having a window opening upon one of the loveliest scenes in nature. Many were the happy tranquil hours which I enjoyed in this little room, turning over the time-worn volumes of my host, and his ancestors, and reading interesting treatises of authors of other days, whose names have long since passed into oblivion; or gazing upon the mountains, and the beautiful vales they enclosed, and listening to the wild notes of a shepherd boy, whose daily occupation was to watch a few sheep and goats upon a neighbouring hill, and whose song still rings in my ears as one of the most melodious sounds I ever heard. The sketch which faces this page, was taken from the window of the study.

Domesticated thus with a Vaudois family, living as they lived, keeping their hours, and established in the midst of mountains and mountaineers, the time which we passed here may safely be pronounced to be among the happiest of our life. We breakfasted early, dined at two o'clock, rising from table immediately that the dinner was over, and supped at nine. Our dinners consisted generally of potage, a small piece of beef or veal, not remarkable for fatness or flavour, poultry, trout caught in the Pelice, and some preparations of



eggs, rice, vegetables, or pastry. The substantial dish at supper was a flowing bowl of milk rich as cream, or of custard pudding with some preserved fruit. At first the supply of meat was somewhat scanty, and the table was spread with the frugality and simplicity of a hermitage; but when our hostess had made her silent observations upon our appetite, sharpened by exercise and fine air, she provided accordingly, and, I am afraid, put herself to no small inconvenience, for meat cannot be procured with any regularity in the vicinity of La Torre. These repasts, and particularly the suppers, seasoned by the conversation and kind attentions of the family, and by the demands of a long evening walk, were enjoyable beyond all description.

San Margarita continued to be our head-quarters for two months, and from this spot we made our excursions in every direction, until we had visited every one of the fifteen Vaudois Communes, and the greater number of the hamlets into which they are divided.

The first few days after our arrival in the valleys were spent in delicious leisurely enjoyment of the lovely scenery, and of the new situation in which we found ourselves. The hamlet of San Margarita is about half a mile from the village of La Torre, at no great distance from the central school, the church, the hospital, and the Latin school. We could, therefore, first visit the places connected

with some of my enquiries, and afterwards ramble among the secluded dells and chesnut groves in their vicinity, and thus employ our mornings usefully and agreeably. Our host's house is his own property, and, with the aspect of a farm-house or large Swiss cottage, had all the comforts of a farm-house, being situated in a farm-yard, and supplied with the produce of a few acres which lay contiguous to it. Some rich meadows, shaded with fruit-trees, and well irrigated by streamlets, led by artificial channels from the mountains, and sloping down to the banks of the Pelice, were at hand to invite to walk, when we were in the mood to take exercise without having any object to draw us beyond the precincts of the little domain; and here we loitered away many of those hours, which we should have called idle, had they not been in the society of some of Mr. Bert's family or friends, from whose conversation we were able to gather much of the information we required. The pleasure, however, of our first ramble was a little disturbed by the sight of one of those formidable vipers, which abound in the chain of mountains between Piemont and Dauphiné, so much so, that at certain seasons of the year, men from Turin and Milan make it their business to collect them for medicinal purposes. I was advancing through a plantation of willows to the edge of the torrent, and in stooping down to avoid a bough, I disturbed a viper coiled upon it close to my face.

The hay and corn harvest, and that gay and important time when the produce of the silk-worm is collected, were calling the whole rustic population into full activity, and gave us ample opportunities of mixing with the peasantry, and seeing them under all those circumstances which call the character and peculiarities of a people into action. The grass and grain had yielded an abundant increase, and the season was favourable for securing them; but the mulberry trees had failed in the early part of the year, and the silk worms, for want of sufficient aliment, had in many cases made so poor a return, that great distress was the consequence. One poor family, who lived near us, had expended more in the purchase of mulberry leaves than their silk sold for, and the disappointment was lamentable; but the tale of their deprivations which resulted from it, was told without the least repining, although their hut was almost stripped of its scanty furniture to raise the rent, which their cocoons were expected to produce.

Improvements find their way but slowly to such retired corners of the world, as those in which we were sojourning; therefore, the implements of husbandry, and the use of them, as far as we observed, belonged, like the Church of the Vaudois, to primitive times. The scythes and spades were cumbersome and ill adapted for the despatch of work; the animals principally employed in the

fields were milch cows, whether to draw the plough in seed time, or the wain at harvest. The forks were for the most part of wood, split so as to form the prongs, with a cross bar or wedge to keep them distended. But there was another observation of a more interesting nature still, which reminded us also of patriarchal times: the gentleness and docility of the cattle, and the kindness with which they are treated and managed. The kine, sheep, and goats are not driven, but led, and become as familiar and tractable as dogs; they obey the voice and movements of the hand, come singly from the flock when their names are called, and illustrate the scriptural passages, "He calleth his own sheep by name, and leadeth them out"—"One little ewe lamb, which lay in his bosom."

Two or three days after our arrival in the valleys, the pastors of Bobi, Villar, San Giovanni, Rora, and Angrogna, and the master of the Latin school, called upon us. I had not seen some of these worthy men when I was here in 1823, but among such frank and warm-hearted people, acquaintanceship is soon made; and as they knew I did not ask them questions out of mere curiosity, they were good enough to permit me to ascertain their opinions on several matters connected with my journey. In some instances, travellers have returned from the Vaudois dissatisfied at finding them reserved and uncommunicative. But they

might recollect that questions as to income, religious opinion, and the conduct of government, when put by strangers, whose object is not intelligible, are not altogether agreeable. The opportunities which I enjoyed of acquiring the confidence of these mountaineers, promoted my views in every respect. I was received in the family of one of their most respected and intelligent pastors; and I seldom stirred from place to place, but in the company of some one who understood the patois of the country, and was well known to the natives. If I shall, therefore, appear to speak of them in the tone of one, who thinks himself familiar with their habits and sentiments, I may boast that I obtained this knowledge by associating with them at their own abodes, and partaking of their repasts; by accompanying them to their fields and pasturages, and by being the companion of some of their journeys and adventures. It was not only in the presbyteries, and churches, and schools, that I studied their character, but in the hut and châlet, by the side of the husbandman and the vine dresser, and of the shepherds and herdsmen, and hunters of their Alps.

The impression left upon my mind is decidedly favourable. There were lights and shadows in the picture, but the former prevailed. As for example, if I witnessed amusements to which their ancestors strongly objected, I could not but perceive that these were conducted with a degree of decency

and propriety very rare in other regions. No drunkenness, or quarrels, or loose language disgrace their hours of hilarity. There is no open and shameless rebellion against divine or human laws, and the sins which call for admonition, are the perpetration of individuals, and not general enough to leave a stigma upon whole villages or hamlets. I saw no indication of that profligacy which results from passions, which young men in too many countries seem to avow, rather than to disguise.

At their devotions, they display a seriousness which is quite exemplary; and though the Lord's day is not professedly consecrated to the same number of services as with us, yet there are few among them who are not regular attendants at church. The average congregation of every parish rarely falls short of, and generally exceeds, the amount of half the population. Scarcely an instance is known of a young person declining to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper after he has arrived at the proper age; and the solemn preparation, which is made for the communion, speaks forcibly in attestation of the pains which are taken to impress the youthful mind with its importance.

But whether it is that extravagant notions have been formed of the Vaudois, and that being supposed to be exempt from all human defects, their failings, when discovered, have been perversely

exaggerated; or whether they have been more rigidly and nicely weighed than other people, certain it is, that if they have been overrated by some, they have been underrated by others, and advantage has been taken of the errors of individuals, to misrepresent the whole community. If it could be shewn that some members of the Waldensian Church have fallen ten times, where they have only fallen once, and that the number of admitted delinquents could be multiplied tenfold, I would still subscribe to the opinion which three recent travellers have put on record. "In principles, habits, and manners," says Mr. Bridge, "they approach more nearly to the primitive professors of Christianity than any other community of Christians now existing."—"I have no hesitation in saying," says Mr. Jackson, "that I think the Vaudois, even in their present circumstances, the most moral people in Europe."—"They have the honour to be ranked as soldiers of Jesus Christ, with that remnant of the noble army of martyrs." Such is the witness of Mr. Plenderleath—my testimony is the same. The first opinion which I adopted in 1823, is my deliberate and confirmed opinion in 1830.

The reader will sympathize with me, when I relate, after this declaration, that two events occurred while I was in the valleys, during my late visit, which were of a nature to shake a casual

observer's estimate of the Vaudois character. One man committed suicide, and another murder. The sensation excited through every commune was terrible. There was not a man but felt that the virtuous reputation of his community was at stake; nothing like it had occurred for ages. I was present when the remains of the suicide were committed to the grave. The funeral took place the day after the fatal deed, and before the cause and circumstances had been fully ascertained by legal process. The gloom was deep and universal. A great concourse attended; and the spectators of the last ceremony appeared as if they had not the courage to look each other in the face. An evident shock had been given to all. Happily, it was clearly established upon inquiry, that the poor victim of his own violence was insane—and then, but not till then, a weight seemed to be removed from every man's heart and conscience. Some of the Roman Catholics indulged in severe and sarcastic observations at the expense of the suicide and his religion. "What is the Protestant faith worth," said they, "if its people first run into excesses which unsettle their minds, and then fly to the refuge of the grave from the agonies of conscience? The confessional would have prevented the last guilty act at least, and the priest would have given absolution and comfort at the same time."

Of the murderer, I am unable to speak positively, either in defence or extenuation. He fled as soon as the crime was committed, and the particulars of it had not been ascertained when I came away. It was said, however, to have resulted from a quarrel, in which the manslayer was not the aggressor.

CHAPTER II.

System of Public Education. Central Schools. Obstacles in the way of Instruction. Hamlet Schools and Scenery.

THE first subject to which I desired to give my attention, was the state of education, and the way was greatly smoothed for me by Colonel Beckwith, whose personal inspection of every school, during his long residence in the valleys, had enabled him to make some accurate notes upon the manner in which the schools are conducted. The following he was kind enough to allow me to transcribe.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

"The system of public instruction is carried on among the Vaudois, in

1 Grammar School,
15 Great Schools,
126 Small Schools*,

* These small schools vary in number with the means of supporting them. According to the report of the Table in 1826, there were then only 76 open. In 1829, when I was in the valleys, the number reported to me was 112.

4 Girls' Schools, supported by the London committee,

4 Girls' Schools, supported by individuals,

Containing, in round numbers, 4500 children, of whom the smaller half consists of girls.

"The 15 great schools ought to be held ten months, but from the small stipends of the schoolmasters, and from the circumstance of the children's being employed in various ways by the parents, many of them are held only for five or six.

"The smaller schools are held for five, (very few) four, and three months. In bad weather these schools are filled with children; but in open winters, the parents send the elder children 'en pâture' with the sheep and goats, so that these children receive an imperfect education for four or three winter months.

"These schools are directed by schoolmasters, some of whom speak French tolerably well, and write a pretty good hand, but in general they neither speak French well, nor write well. They all read French, but have a very imperfect knowledge of that language. The greater part of them are in the habit of speaking patois, and there are no means of learning French grammatically in the valleys. They can all cypher a little, but have no books of arithmetic, slates, or slate pencils.

"These schoolmasters teach by means of a small spelling-book called a 'Carte,' Ostervald's

Catechism, the New Testament, and Bible. They set copies upon detached sheets of paper in round and small hand, and sums in the four first rules of arithmetic from memory; these the children work out also on sheets of paper, but this mode of teaching is too expensive for the parents, so that the children are obliged to stop until the parents can afford to purchase more paper.

"The children generally speaking, particularly in large schools, are arranged by classes. The master sets a lesson to each child, and they come up in succession; but where the school is numerous this cannot be more than twice or thrice in the day. The children idle away the rest of their time.

"When the small schools are closed, many children frequent the great schools for some time longer.

"During the winter also, many persons prefer sending their children to the great schools, where they learn to write and cypher better; but the system of instruction is the same as in small schools.

"Notwithstanding all these defects and obstacles, the children in the course of years learn to read their catechism, a book of 125 pages, and the Bible, with considerable fluency; they know a good deal of their catechism by heart, write, a few very well, and the greater part very tolerably, and make some progress in arithmetic, but probably not much.

"Other systems of education, if they were permitted, would bring on the children much faster, but in the present state of the country[1], and of the population, it would be difficult to carry them into effect. The greatest defect of the present system is, that the means used to teach French do not effect the object so as to enable the population to read and listen to the Scriptures with the profit that is desirable. There does not appear to be any immediate remedy for this; first, on account of the expense of forming masters, the want of means to pay these masters, and the difficulty of teaching a foreign language to peasants who are occupied in supplying their daily wants in a country where there are no books written in the dialect spoken by its inhabitants. The wants of these schools are New Testaments, slates, and slate pencils; of the latter there are none in Piemont, and they might probably be supplied cheapest from England, by way of Genoa."

The grammar school, of which Colonel Beckwith speaks, is maintained principally by contributions from Holland, and so are the great or central schools, and the small or hamlet schools.

The benefactions received from Holland in 1829, amounted to 9600 francs, or about 384*l.*, and it

[1] The Vaudois are prohibited by an edict of government, issued July 1826, from having any committee of their own for the regulation of public instruction, and from using any system of mutual instruction.

was announced to the table, that the annual contributions from that country in future would not exceed this sum. Some years the grant had been nearly 1000 francs more [1].

Of the grammar school, I shall speak more at large by and bye. The four girls' schools, maintained principally by the London Vaudois Committee, and the four private girls' schools, supported by benevolent individuals, will also be mentioned in the course of my relation. At present, the order of my narrative requires that I should notice those called the great and the small schools. Each parish contains one of the former, and as many of the latter as are thought necessary according to its population and situation. The

[1] The appropriation of the 9600 francs, was—

	Francs.
In aid of the poor generally, of the 15 Vaudois Parishes	1340
To Widows of Pastors	290
To particular objects of bounty	140
To retired Pastors	400
To a suspended Pastor	250
To 5 Doyens, or Senior Pastors	450
To Latin School-masters 650; Rewards 30	680
To 15 Great and 112 Small Schools	3456
To Hospital	2500
Gratuities to Pastors of Prali and Maneille, and casualties	94
Total	9600

Dutch yearly allowance to the great schools varies from 55 to 155 francs each—to the small schools from 12 to 48 francs; and these stipends to the masters are increased by some small contributions from each commune. The greatest payment which is made at present to any of the masters or regents of the 15 central schools, who are in fact the persons upon whom the burthen of instruction rests, is 400 francs, or 16*l.* a year, viz. to the regent of La Torre; and this, I believe, includes his salary as catechist and reader in the church. The regent of Rodoret receives no more than 128 francs annually. Some of the masters of the small schools live with the inhabitants of the hamlets in which they teach, one day in one cottage, and one day in another; but with such poor pittances, it is not an object of ambition to the young men of the rising generation to qualify themselves for the purpose of carrying on public instruction.

It is highly honourable to the Waldenses, that they took the lead in promoting that system of general education, which is extending itself more or less in every state in Europe. Their pastors have not only always recommended and assisted in the instruction of children of all degrees, but the synodical acts of the Vaudois Church have, from time to time, rendered it imperative upon the community to provide means of religious and elementary education for all the children capable

of receiving it. Nearly two hundred years ago, Leger stated, "All the churches are obliged to have a sufficient number of schools, well regulated, wherein the fundamental principles of religion are to be taught. But since there is little or no commerce in this country, it is not expected that many of the children should learn to write; in fact, there are very few who can write their names, although most of them can read well, and are well versed in a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures."

Now, however, since education has taken great strides in this quarter, as well as elsewhere, and the demands of the age require that even the village schools of the Waldenses should be placed upon a more effective footing, it becomes a question, whether some means cannot be devised of preparing the masters, and perfecting them in those branches of instruction which they are expected to undertake, before they are entrusted with the difficult task of conducting schools, in which a language different from the mother tongue of the scholars, is the medium of communicating knowledge. My own observations agree with those of Messrs. Acland, Bracebridge, Sims, and Jackson, who have strongly pointed out, in their publications concerning the Vaudois, the necessity of creating a new order of school-masters, and of establishing a system in which they may be trained to the duties of their vocation. The Dutch committee most considerately raised a purse for the

express purpose of maintaining an institution, wherein the regents might be instructed in the routine of school management; but while I was at La Torre, a letter was received from Holland, announcing the painful intelligence, that this subsidy could be continued no longer. One of the resolutions which the officers of the table adopted in 1826, was to this effect:—" A donner telle étendue et direction à l'école Latine, qu'elle puisse servir au même tems à la formation des régens et maîtres d'école." It has not yet been carried into execution for want of funds, but certainly no better plan seems to present itself, than one which shall economically combine a better elementary course of study both for those intended for the ministry, and for those who are to be the village teachers.

The time of the year was not favourable for my visits to the schools. The small ones were all closed, and the great schools were held very irregularly at a season, when the children are principally occupied in the fields, and in the mountain pasturages, tending the flocks and herds, or in collecting the produce of the silk-worms. The school of La Torre being near at hand, we watched our opportunity, and found the master and some of his scholars at study. There were twenty-two boys and girls present, the eldest might be about sixteen, the youngest about seven. In the months when the attendance is most regular, the numbers

are above 100. As many as 130 have been assembled together, but the room is by no means large enough to accommodate so many with any degree of comfort or convenience. It is fitted up with forms and desks. One boy was busy with a sum in the rule of three. I heard a little girl of eight years of age read in the catechism—she read tolerably well; but when I asked if she thoroughly understood what she read, the master shook his head. The catechism was in French; and upon my enquiring of the master, if he explained it in the patois of the country, he replied that he had been brought up in France, and did not understand the patois.

The vernacular tongue of the Vaudois is a barbarous dialect between Latin, French, and Italian, more like the Spanish perhaps. The language of the state is Italian, and that, in which they receive instruction is French, without the means at present of acquiring it grammatically. It is astonishing therefore that a population should be grounded and rooted in a faith, the knowledge of which is communicated to them under every possible impediment; and it is hard to determine how the difficulties of having to learn the principles of religion in a language, not the spoken language of the province, are to be met. Colonel Beckwith and Mr. Sims have benevolently provided copies of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John in French and in the Vaudois dialect, to be printed for the

use of the schools and parishes. But the dialect or patois of the Vaudois varies so much in the three valleys, that I am inclined to think the best thing is to discourage the use of it as much as possible, and promote a more general adoption of French, as the only language in which religious books can be obtained, while Protestant works in Italian are so strictly prohibited by the government. This was the opinion of the synod in 1822. One of its articles imposed it as a duty upon the pastors to converse in French with their flocks, in order to familiarize them with the language of their elementary treatises and church services. The indefatigable and judicious Oberlin overcame difficulties of the same nature in his mountain parish of the Ban de la Roche, by persuading his people to reconcile themselves to the colloquial use of the French, instead of the harsh patois to which they had been accustomed. The Vaudois have been gradually adopting the language of France for two hundred years; their forefathers nobly and perseveringly led the way, when they first received into their churches ministers who understood neither the Waldensian nor the Italian tongue, after the sweeping pestilence which carried off almost all their native pastors, and we may hope that the present race will shew equal perseverance and docility.

The master of the school complained, justly

enough, of the obstacles which were thrown in the way of the due performance of his duty; in the uncertain attendance of his scholars, interrupted as they are by the necessity of finding employment in husbandry, and otherwise, in the occasional severity of the weather, in the total want of materials to carry on the work of education, and, above all, in the prohibition of mutual instruction. The government is so jealous on the subject of education, that it is absolutely forbidden to have any recourse to those expedients, by which the master may have the assistance of his own scholars, and of that intellectual machinery, which Dr. Bell has introduced into the national schools of our own country.

The elementary books used in the schools of the Vaudois, were there enough of them, and could they be thoroughly learnt, are well calculated for the purpose of instruction; they are simple and intelligible, and if the scholars clearly understood the language in which they are composed, (the French) they would greatly facilitate their progress. The first book is a little treatise, entitled, " L'A, B, C, pour les Enfans du premier age." It contains, like our own spelling-books, first the letters, and then words of one, two, three and more syllables in succession; next, short prayers for before and after meat, and for entering and leaving church; the Lord's Prayer, the Creed,

and Ten Commandments; then a brief catechism, and concludes with a few occasional prayers. This is of recent introduction. Before it was adopted, a tract of the same kind, but containing longer prayers, and several pages of instructions in verse, was used. Two other little books were put into the hands of children more advanced—the one entitled, "Deux Catéchismes familiers par demandes et réponses, extrêmement courtes." The other, "Abrégé de l'Histoire Sainte et du Catéchisme, par J. F. Ostervald." The practical and doctrinal parts of these treatises are sound and orthodox, in the acceptance which the English Church attaches to the word. Touching the doctrine of the Trinity, the first contains this exposition:—

"Who is your Saviour?
Jesus Christ.
Who is Jesus Christ?
The only Son of God.
Is Jesus Christ God or man?
He is very God and very man.'
The second contains the same.
The third expresses itself thus:
"Are there many Gods?
No; there is but one God.
Is there only one person in the Godhead?
There are three persons.
How do you call them?
The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

If there are three persons, are there not three Gods ?

No.

Wherefore ?

Because there is but one only, and the same essence."

The fourth, or Ostervald's, discusses this important topic in this manner.

" How do you know that Jesus Christ is of the same nature with God his Father ?

" Saint John says, ' In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.' And St. Paul says, ' Christ who is over all, God blessed for ever.' "

Such are the lessons taught in their elementary books to the young Vaudois, and therefore I was not surprised to get the following brief and intelligent answer from a boy of eleven or twelve years of age, to whom I put the question—" Who is Jesus Christ ?"—" He is God [1]." Those, who

[1] The Catechism used by the more advanced scholars contains this explanation, on that fundamental doctrine of the Primitive and Protestant Churches, Justification by faith in Jesus Christ.

Abrégé du Catéchisme, Section 14.

Qu'est-ce que la foi justifiante ?
Celle par laquelle nous sommes justifiés devant Dieu.

know what liberties have been taken at Geneva with the Catechism of Ostervald, in some of the late reprints, wherein all that vindicates the God-

Comment nous justifie-t-elle devant Dieu ?

En embrassant et nous appliquant la justice de Jésus Christ.

Qu'entendez-vous par la justice de Jésus Christ ?

Le mérite de son obéissance et de sa mort, par laquelle il a appaisé Dieu envers nous et expié nos péchés.

Qu'est-ce donc qu'embrasser la justice de Jésus-Christ ?

C'est croire qu'il est mort pour nous.

Que signifie le mot de justifier ?

Déclarer juste celui qu'on tenoit pour coupable.

Comment nous qui sommes pécheurs pouvons-nous être déclarés justes devant Dieu ?

Nous ne sommes pas déclarés justes en nous-mêmes, mais en Jésus-Christ.

Comment justes en Jésus-Christ ?

C'est que la justice de Jésus-Christ est faite nôtre.

Comment est-elle faite nôtre ?

C'est qu'elle nous est imputée par la grace que nous croions en lui.

Qu'est-ce à dire cela ?

C'est que Dieu nous pardonne tous nos péchés, et nous donne le droit à la vie éternelle pour l'amour de Jésus-Christ, lors que nous croions en lui.

Quels sont les Actes de la foi justifiante ?

Il y en a quatre principaux.

Quel est le premier ?

C'est de savoir et de croire que Jésus est le Fils de Dieu, et que s'étant fait fils de l'homme, il a fait et souffert tout ce qui étoit nécessaire pour nous acquérir le salut.

Quel est le second ?

C'est de recourir à lui et de chercher tout nôtre salut en lui.

head of Jesus is omitted, will be glad to find that the copies of Ostervald, in use among our Protestants of the valleys, are the genuine copies. They are not editions mutilated like that of Paschoud, published in 1814, in which the catechumen is taught to respect, but not to adore the Son of God; but they still hold him forth to the worship of youth, as very God and very Man. The tract entitled "Deux Catechismes familiers," is from an impression of the year 1759.

All things considered, I know not of a more extraordinary phenomenon than that presented by the Vaudois, when a view is taken of the state of public instruction and its results. You have a small population sharply watched by a jealous

Quel est le troisième?

C'est de nous appliquer tout ce qu'il a fait et souffert, comme si nous l'avions fait et souffert en nos propres personnes.

Quel est le quatrième?

C'est de nous assurer, que puis que nous avons tout nôtre recours à lui, Dieu nous fera grace.

Comment sommes-nous assurés d'être reçus en grace en recourant à Jésus-Christ?

Parce que le Seigneur a déclaré qu'il ne rejettera point ceux qui vont à lui [1].

Quel avantage nous revient-il de cette assurance?

Le sentiment de notre paix avec Dieu, l'espérance du salut éternel.

Sur quoi est fondée cette assurance?

Sur les promesses de l'Evangile. Croi et tu seras sauvé.

[1] Jean vi. 37.

government, driven up into a corner, beset on three sides by neighbours whose religion is widely different, with very imperfect means of arriving at a clear knowledge of the fundamental doctrines of their Church, and yet remaining true to it, in spite of the temptations and menaces to which they are exposed. There is nothing on the principle of emulation, reward, or other excitement to urge the masters on; the fulfilment of their bare duty, and the ordinary routine of drudgery, is all that can be expected of them. A good system of inspection might provoke to zeal and activity, but how can you hope even for this, where the pastor of the parish is almost the only one, who knows what education ought to be, and where all else, with few exceptions, are peasants in every sense of the word. And yet the children of these people do pick up more than a smattering of religious knowledge. They learn enough to render them a fair match for those who, in the spirit of proselytism, often attempt to seduce them from their faith by the sophistries of the Romish superstition, and seldom or never has there been an instance known of a Vaudois deserting his Church from conviction. How well they are fortified by lessons of moral duty, let their adversaries testify, who have long ago abandoned the attempt to impugn their reputation for uncorruptible virtue and integrity.

It is under the persuasion that there is no

danger to be apprehended from a laxity of morals, that I have never yet seen occasion to lament the intermixture of boys and girls in the Vaudois schools, so much as some do. For purposes of improved female instruction it is advisable to separate them, if you can obtain the means of doing so, and the institutions for girls, which have been established by the London Committee, and by some kind-hearted individuals, will go a great way towards giving a new impulse to that peculiar education which the sex requires. But on the score of morals, I should not think it imperative to have separate rooms for boys and girls, who associate together in the labours of the fields, who, in each other's company, watch the flocks on the mountains and the cattle in the plains, without ever giving rise to any suspicion that their intercourse ought to be interdicted. Of what then is the nicest sense of decency to be afraid, while they are under the eye of a common teacher and superintendant?

Although the small schools were not open during any part of my residence in Piemont, yet I was anxious to see the spots where they were held, and this led me to some sequestered nooks and corners of mountain scenery, which I should not otherwise have explored. The description of those schools belonging to La Torre, which I examined, will suffice for the whole.

The commune of La Torre, consists of the prin-

cipal village known by that name, and of nine hamlets, or "quartiers." The village is a long street, running nearly parallel with the river Pelice, and the hamlets are picturesquely situated on the mountain sides, which slope down to the rich vale through which the river or torrent flows. To the eye, (so clear is the atmosphere) these hamlets appear to be at no great distance from each other and from the village, but many a weary step must be taken before they can be reached. Several of them are high up on the mountain steeps, and can only be approached by very rugged paths. They are separated also in many cases by ravines and torrents, which, at certain seasons, when the snow or waters are deep, render communication with the main village difficult and precarious. There are times, therefore, when the children belonging to these hamlets would have no instruction, if it were not provided for them at hand, and hence the establishment of these smaller schools, which are usually conducted by some of the better educated peasantry of the quarter, who think themselves well paid if they receive from 20 to 25 francs, for the three or four months which they devote to this occupation. The number of scholars, in these hamlet schools of La Torre, may amount to about 350. The largest, at Roussaing, receives fifty-five, and the smallest, at Bonnetti, twelve. The school-rooms are small and cheerless, for the most part unglazed,

having paper substituted for glass, with scarcely any desks or seats in them, and warmed by rude stoves or grates which must fill them with smoke. The most capacious does not exceed sixteen feet square.

But wretched as they are to the eye, some of these humble tenements have been consecrated to the noblest purposes, and have been among the means of keeping alive the pure spark of truth, when it was well nigh extinguished in other places. In the days of persecution, when the more accessible lowlands of the Vaudois were overrun by their destroyers, it was here, in these remote cabins, that the little lamp was trimmed, and that men girt up their loins for the spiritual and temporal conflict which they had to encounter. Here the young were instructed, and the mature and the aged were exhorted to abide true to their profession. That, which was a school-room during the week, was the sanctuary on the Lord's day; and the pastor, driven out of his church, was glad to find an altar and a congregation on summits, which were too impervious for the enemy to approach with impunity. I have now an edict of the year 1650 lying before me, by which, in violation of all former grants and privileges, the Vaudois were forbidden to exercise or teach their religion in any part of the commune of La Torre near Luserna, and were compelled to flee for refuge to aerial hamlets, which, like Tagliaretta,

Bonnetti, and Borel, are on the steepest slopes of the mountain. Sacred therefore are the walls, which by no great stretch of the imagination, we may imagine to have received the people of God, when they were driven from their more pleasant habitations on the sunny banks of the Pelice, and sacred is every path that leads to them; for here the ground was occasionally disputed inch by inch, every crag was a watch-tower, every tree a battlement, and by dint of the sword was the whole mountain-side defended, as one of the last strongholds of religious liberty. There is this interest in pursuing any enquiry in the territory of the Waldenses. The scenery through which your path lies is not only of the first order, but not a rock or grove, in the higher regions, is without its tale to vindicate the claim of the country to be considered the most storied in all Europe.

But imposing as is the effect produced by treading on holy ground, where martyrs and champions of the faith have bled or striven, it is a relief to direct one's steps from these scenes, which speak to the fiercer passions of our nature, to those where the eye and the mind may take their recreation together, and where the landscape is so inviting, that nothing is wanting to the scene before you to make the heart dance with joy. Such were some of the smiling dales in the lower quarter within an hour's walk of San Margarita. We frequently carried a small basket of

provisions with us, and wandered among them in the full enjoyment of their exquisite beauty.

June 26th. Our excursion to Pralebroué, in quest of the school there, delighted us with the sight of a profusion of wild flowers and fruits; and fields waving with grain,—a perfect realization of the Hebrew poet's splendid image, "Thou visitest the earth and blessest it—thou makest it very plenteous. The little hills rejoice on every side: the valleys also stand so thick with corn, they laugh and sing." Our path lay across two bridges flung over the Pelice, and along L'Envers, towards the western limits of La Torre. The mountain-side on our left rose in gentle acclivities, and its summit was a blaze of rhododendrons. The picturesque rocks of Castelluzzo were in full view to our right. The towering peaks of Barrian, and St. Julien, were just seen melting into distance before us, or piercing the clouds, accordingly as the light fell upon them. In the foreground were meadows, orchards, parterres of wheat, and groves of chesnuts, gracefully intermingled, with here and there a venerable and gigantic oak or walnut-tree, extending its solitary branches over a cascade or rivulet, which chased its way into the main stream. We were never out of sight or sound of the Pelice, of its rapids or its foaming waters. In the midst of this glowing landscape, the cottages of Pralebroué just peeped out from the foliage in which they were embowered, and

looked more like a petted hamlet in the vicinity of an English park, than the dependency of a Commune, many of whose inhabitants are miserably destitute in the midst of plenty;—so poor, observed Mr. Jackson, that they ought not to be asked to contribute even to the purchase of a Bible.

"Sic vos non vobis ————!" The fact is, that the industrious Vaudois families, after having brought spots like these to the highest pitch of cultivation, are elbowed out by Roman Catholic settlers, or become too numerous for the narrow boundaries to which they are confined. "Nos habitans sont comme entassés les uns sur les autres par la loi barbare, qui défend aux Protestans de s'étendre au delà de certaines limites." This account, which they give of themselves, is too true. Although every span of land that can be made to yield increase is in a rich state of tillage, yet the territory produces less than the demand, and hundreds of the Protestant population are yearly sufferers from want and hunger, notwithstanding abundant harvests, and bountiful returns of seed sown.

So long back as the year 1655, a supplicatory letter of the inhabitants of the valleys explained, that there were not the means within the boundaries of employing or maintaining the natives of the soil. It is for this reason, the superabundance of population in the richer part of

the valleys, that there is considerably more distress in such parishes as Le Torre and San Germano, than in the higher and more sterile districts of Prali and Rodoret, where there is no temptation for strangers to make themselves masters of the little inheritances of the Waldenses. The Vaudois, who is reduced to the necessity of alienating his property, has no resource left. Public employments, and official stations of the lowest kind, must be given to Roman Catholics: and the law not only prohibits his making any purchase of land on the other side of the limits, but even imposes a penalty (in violation of the 16th article of the edict of 1561, which permits the Vaudois "to stay, go, and come, to buy, sell, and traffic, in any of his highness's dominions,") at the will of the sovereign, if he carry on any trade or handicraft out of the boundaries. This law is not rigorously executed, but still it exists, and cramps enterprise and industry. The farms and vineyards are for the most part too small to require the labour of more than the owner's family. Under these circumstances, every acre of land within the Vaudois limits, which passes into the hands of a stranger, is an injury to the Protestant part of the community of a most serious nature.

While I am speaking of Vaudois landscapes and cultivation, I cannot withhold an observation which occurred to me on the day of our walk to Pralebroué. We passed through several meadows

where they were making hay. But nothing out of England is like the haymaking of our own country. There is not the same fragrance or exhilarating effect. With us it is more like a field-sport than a labour. Whether the grasses abroad are coarser and less odoriferous, or whether the mode of spreading and drying the herbage is different, certain it is that nowhere as in England, is the hay-field a field of such perfume and freshness. Neither is it elsewhere that we see the gay and blithesome gang of haymakers, who cheerily ply their work as if every load they secure were their own property. The Vaudois peasants, whom we saw occupied in cutting or gathering the produce of their meadow lands, looked resigned and contented, rather than cheerful and light-hearted; and when they accosted us, it was not with the arch smile, and humourous joke of "merry England," but with the "bien bon jour" of softened and subdued spirits.

In the course of one of our rambles, a poor man, who was engaged in some work in the fields, begged that we would assist him with a small gift, and pleaded the urgency of his wants. Mr. Amadée Bert, the pastor's second son, who happened to be with us, expressed great indignation at this act of mendicity, and declared that he had never before witnessed any thing of the kind. Upon mentioning it to his father, the worthy pastor himself was evidently vexed that such a circum-

stance had occurred, but upon stating the petitioner's name, he confirmed his tale of distress, and assured us that the poor peasant had a large family, and had suffered greatly from indigence, which no industry could prevent. He added, that the indiscreet generosity of some of our countrymen had taught several of his flock to beg, who, before they saw almsgiving, as Englishmen sometimes give, had never practised or imagined such a mode of seeking relief.

CHAPTER III.

Church service of the Vaudois. Comparison between Sunday services of the early Christian and Waldensian Churches. Remarks on the Liturgies now used in the Valleys. Observance of Lord's day. Pastoral duties of Vaudois Clergy.

JUNE 28th. I was impatient for the first Sunday in the valleys, and was desirous of observing in what respect the Vaudois appear to have abided by, or departed from the customs of the Primitive Churches, in their manner of keeping the Lord's day, both in the place of public worship, and otherwise. The nominal hour for the Church service to begin was nine o'clock, but there did not seem to be any great punctuality as to time, and when I entered the church, or temple, as the Vaudois sanctuaries are called, to distinguish them from those of the Roman Catholics, I found the master of the central school officiating and reading a chapter of the Bible to a very small congregation, and the pastor not present. In the mean time many people were loitering in the church-yard, or in the approaches to it, and individuals kept dropping in, but the seats were not fully occupied till Mr. Bert made his appearance,

which he did when the Scripture reading was about half finished. The same practice prevails in other Vaudois parishes. It may proceed from two causes: from the distance which many of the people have to come, and the desire that some sort of devotional exercise should be going on with the earliest attendants, before the commencement of the more solemn duties of prayer and thanksgiving; or from the little interest which is taken in a service not always well performed. The unseemly habit has at all events become too general, and the difference of attention when this functionary is engaged, and when the pastor takes his part, is very perceptible. The readers are in fact very often incompetent to the task of doing justice to the sacred passages, which it is their office to recite: but the appointment to such office is as old as the earliest establishments mentioned in ecclesiastical history, and we recognize traces of the antiquity of the Waldensian Church in this, and other peculiarities, which somewhat offend our prejudices. In old times, before learning was as common as it is now, congregations listened with marked attention to the word of God, when it was rehearsed in their ears, and had no rigid criticism for the voice, or the manner, or the ill-placed emphasis of the reader. But now, when almost every one can read for himself, fastidiousness comes into action, and an unbecoming delivery of the sacred text offends, and the half-instructed schoolmaster, or catechist is thought

but an indifferent substitute for the better educated pastor.

When the regent had arrived at the conclusion of two chapters, and the reflections of Ostervald annexed to them, Mr. Bert opened his book of prayer, the old liturgy of Geneva, and the order of the service proceeded as follows, very impressively on the part of the minister, and with corresponding devotion on that of the congregation.

1. A short exhortation to confession.
2. A form of supplication and confession combined.
3. A psalm sung.
4. Prayer before the sermon: extempore, or precomposed.
5. The sermon preached from memory.
6. A long form of prayer for all orders of men, for persons in authority especially.
7. The Lord's prayer.
8. The apostles' creed.
9. A psalm sung.
10. A benedictory address, and exhortation to almsgiving.
11. The final benediction.

The whole of the service did not occupy more than one hour and a half, and this is all the public Sunday duty in which the pastor of La Torre, or any of the Vaudois pastors, is expected to take part. Out of church, the pastoral cares are very laborious. The afternoon service, which is short, is performed by the regent, whose regular

office it is to read the Scripture lessons of the morning, to lead the psalmody, and to read the prayers in the afternoon: to read also the Thursday service, and to deliver a word of exhortation at funerals, when the pastor does not attend. I cannot make any concealment of the difficulty I find in reconciling myself to the functions of this officer of the Waldensian Church. It is of very ancient appointment, but the little veneration which the people have either for the office, or the services at which he presides, is the best argument for its abolition or modification. It is very well that a reader or catechist should be nominated to supply the place of the pastor, during illness or unavoidable absence, but there can be no reason that he should relieve him in the performance of services, which he could undertake without any great fatigue to himself, and with infinitely more edification to his flock.

The psalmody of their Church has great charms for the Vaudois, and all present join in singing with more earnestness perhaps than harmony. Here again the regent, to my ears, took a part much more conspicuous than agreeable. He sung lustily, and with all his might, but I could not praise either his voice or his selection of music, and I missed the organ, now rendered useless, which at my former visit helped to drown some of the discordances. Once or twice during the two months I remained in the valleys, I heard congregational singing which gave me pleasure; want

of science was made up by warmth of feeling, but the tunes are generally so very dismal and monotonous, as to leave not only an unpleasing but a melancholy impression. I could only fancy that these were the mournful notes descriptive of sorrow and suffering, which the poor victims of oppression used to raise in their asylums among the rocks and forests, when they fled before the sword of the destroyer.

Upon the whole, the reader will find in this description of the nature and order of administration in the public worship of the Vaudois, (it is nearly the same in all the Waldensian temples) a strong resemblance to that which was in use in the time of one of the most ancient Christian fathers, whose writings are consulted for authority in matters of early ecclesiastical history. It will not be thought uninteresting to compare Justin Martyr's account of the meetings of Christians, on the Lord's day, with that which I have just related.

"And on the day called Sunday, there is an assembling together of all who dwell in the cities and country, and the memoirs of the apostles, and the writings of the prophets are read as long as circumstances will permit. Then, when the reader has ceased, the president delivers a discourse, in which he admonishes all present to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and as we before said, prayer being ended, bread and wine and water are brought,

and the president offers prayers in like manner, and thanksgivings according to his ability, and the people express their assent by saying amen; and the distribution of that over which the thanksgiving has been pronounced takes place to each, and each partakes, and a portion is sent to the absent by the deacons. And they who are wealthy and choose, give as much as they respectively deem fit." See "some account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr," by the Bishop of Lincoln, p. 88. The resemblance extends to the simple form of administering the sacrament adopted by the Waldenses, and to the poor box, which is always placed ready to receive the contributions of the charitable after the final exhortation.

"In Justin's account of the Christian Assemblies," observes the bishop, "we find mention of a president, deacons, and a reader."

Tertullian's testimony of the religious customs prevailing in his time, are equally to the point. "We come together for the purpose of offering our prayers unto God. We pray for the emperors, for their officers, and for all that are in authority; we pray that the course of this world may be peaceably ordered, and the consummation of all things may be deferred. We come together for the purpose of reading the Holy Scriptures, when the circumstances of the times appear to call for any particular admonition, and for the careful discussion of any particular topics. Of this at least

we are sure, that our faith will be nourished, and our hope elevated, and our confidence confirmed by listening to the words of Scripture, and that the Christian rule of life will be impressed upon us with increased effect, through the inculcation of the Holy Scriptures."—Bishop of Lincoln's Ecclesiastical History of second and third centuries, illustrated from the writings of Tertullian, p. 351.

The Bishop's remark upon this passage is too valuable to be omitted. "It is evident," says he, "that none of the objects which Tertullian here enumerated could have been obtained, if the prayers had been offered, and the Scriptures read in a tongue to which the majority of persons present were strangers."

Now it is satisfactory to have it in my power to state in this place, that the practice which prevailed in the second and third centuries, of reading Scripture, and of offering up prayers in a living and intelligible language, was cherished by the ancestors of the Waldenses, as the Waldenses cherish it now, in those dark ages, when the intolerance of the Latin Church interdicted the use of Scripture in vernacular tongues, and inflicted a ritual in an unknown tongue upon all the rest of Christendom. Among the manuscripts rescued from destruction by Sir Samuel Morland in 1655, were the Proverbs of Solomon, the Book of Ecclesiastes, the Four Gospels, the Book of the

Acts of the Apostles, and eight of St. Paul's Epistles, all in the old Waldensian language. These were written on parchment, some bearing the marks of having been composed 550 years before, (before 1655), and others "at least six or seven hundred years ago." That is, according to Sir Samuel's opinion, in the tenth century. If then, in those ignorant and gloomy periods, the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, the Waldenses had copies of the Scriptures in their native tongue, we may readily believe that they possessed such previously to the tenth century, and that they have preserved this privilege through the course of successive ages, from their first reception of the Gospel to the present time [1].

I must here be permitted to insert an observation relative to the antiquity of the Noble Lesson, which I omitted to make when I was discussing the question at length. (Section 4, p. 138.)

After all the valuable parchments and papers, which were collected in the three valleys of Luserna, Perosa, and San Martino, had been committed to the charge of Morland, and by him consigned to the University Library at Cambridge,

[1] Perrin, who published his History of the Waldenses in 1618, relates that he had in his possession a New Testament in parchment, in the Waldensian language, very well written, though in a very ancient letter. Leger makes mention of an ancient Vaudois Bible which he found in the mountains of the Val Clusone.

Leger, the moderator and the historian of the Vaudois, found in the valley of Pragela a thick parchment volume, containing several treatises in the Waldensian language. This volume he gave to Mr. Gerard, Principal of the College, and the librarian of the library of Geneva, and took his receipt for it, dated November 10, 1662. Among other tracts, the volume contained a copy of the celebrated "Nobla Leyçon," that which is now so carefully preserved at Geneva, and concerning which M. Jean Senebier entered the following note in his Catalogue Raisonné of the Genevan MSS.: "Je crois ce MS. du 12 siècle; l'écriture et le langage confirment cette opinion." Now, if this copy contains such internal proof of its antiquity, we have the greater reason to attach value to Sir Samuel Morland's opinion of the ages of those, which he presented to the Cambridge Library, but which are now unfortunately missing.

A word now upon the subject of the Liturgical service of the Waldensian Church. The liturgies now in use are those which the Vaudois have adopted in consequence of their connexion with Switzerland, into which connexion they have been drawn by having no institution of their own for the theological education of their candidates for orders, and no libraries, except the small private collections of individuals, and by their inability to obtain any religious books, conformable with the Protestant faith, except such as are in the French language.

But had they at any period of their history a liturgy, which could properly be called their own, peculiar to the Waldensian Church, and composed in the Waldensian tongue? There is every reason to think they had, and I will briefly explain why. When they were obliged to have recourse to France and Switzerland to provide them with reformed ministers, to supply the places of their own native pastors, thirteen of whom out of fifteen were victims of the plague of 1630, they permitted those pastors to introduce the liturgies of Switzerland into the Waldensian Churches. This scarcely would have been allowed had the Waldenses of that period been accustomed to extemporaneous prayer; and certainly not, had their abhorrence of forms of common prayer been equal to that of some of our own congregations, who, in their zeal to keep at the greatest possible distance from Rome, have discarded every thing that the Roman clergy practise. In a Vaudois congregation, composed of persons hostile or even unused to "book services," there might have been some scene, like that so humorously described by Sir Walter Scott in his Tales of a Grandfather. The rash experiment of trying how the High Church at Edinburgh would receive the English liturgy, so exasperated the Presbyterians, that stools and other missiles, flung at the head of the officiating minister, soon determined the question of book or no book.

Another trace of the use of formularies among the ancient Waldenses is to be found in the place, which (according to all the documentary evidence that remains), was given to the recital of the Lord's Prayer and Creed, and Ten Commandments, in their administration of Divine service, as well as in the numerous articles or confessions of faith, which have been drawn up by them at various periods of their history, and more especially in their reception and adoption of the Athanasian Creed, which, according to the testimony of Leger, "they were very careful to make their children learn." That historian has preserved in his pages the version of this Creed, in the old Waldensian language, which began thus:—"Quaquelque volesser fait salf, devant totas cosas, ès de necessità tenir la Fè Catolica, laqual," &c. Leger has also furnished us with a confession of faith, in answer to a fulminating edict against them, presented to the Parliament of Turin in 1556, in which they protested that they believed in the Creed of Athanasius. But better evidence still of their hereditary attachment to "forms of prayer," and of their use of them, is drawn from one of the documents, which happily has not been lost out of the University Library at Cambridge.

"Ed acciochè ognuno vegga chiaramente ciò che crediamo in questo capo, aggiugniamo qui le medesime espressioni che si trovano nella preghiesa, che facciamo avanti la communione nella

nostra Liturgia, o' forma di celebrar la santa cena e nel nostro Catechismo publico," &c.

"Now to the end that every one may see clearly what our belief is as to this point, we have here inserted the very expressions of that prayer, which we make use of before the Communion, as they are written in *our Liturgy*, or form of celebrating the Holy Supper, and in our public Catechism."

A Liturgy of *their own* is manifestly alluded to in this instrument of 1655, which is not one of the several formularies introduced from Switzerland. In reference to the words "our Catechism," they quote from the Catechism composed in the twelfth century by some of their Barbes. In both cases, therefore, I should say, that the term *our* applies to that which was peculiarly Waldensian. I have only to add, that there is yet extant in the library of Geneva, a copy of a Liturgy in the Waldensian language. Unfortunately it escaped my recollection when I was at Geneva, that this relic was to be seen there. I did not consult it myself, and must therefore give the words of one who has. "In addition to these MSS., there is a short Liturgy in the Vaudois dialect, a small octavo on vellum, bound in crimson velvet. I saw it, and thought it quite complete." Jackson's Remarks on the Vaudois of Piemont. Appendix, p. 276.

Of the liturgies now used in the valleys, the

Genevan is read by seven of the pastors, the Neufchatel by six, and the Lausanne by two. Thus it depends upon the option of the minister to adopt which he pleases: in one or two cases, the Genevan and Neufchatel are read by the same pastor, accordingly as it suits his fancy; and the regent of a parish will frequently rehearse prayers on a Sunday afternoon, or Thursday morning, out of a ritual different from that which his pastor prefers. This want of uniformity is not commendable although the three forms are essentially alike in doctrine, and do not greatly vary in the order of the service.

I must, however, be particular in stating, that the Genevan liturgy used by M. Bert and some others, is not the modern but the old edition of 1754; and this I think it necessary to mention, lest it should be supposed, that the clergy of the Waldensian Church are falling into the errors of the "venerable company of pastors" of Geneva, who have suffered recent copies of the ritual to be published with sweeping expurgations of all the passages, that were in opposition to the "Réglement" of May 3, 1817. The object of this regulation was to prescribe silence respecting the manner, in which the Son partakes of the Godhead of the Father, and the manner in which the Holy Spirit operates upon the human mind, and to forbid any explanation of the doctrines of original sin and predestination. So completely did this regulation have

the effect of secularizing the Gospel, as the late moderator Peyrani expressed it, " il a secularisé l'Evangile," that in a late reprint of the liturgy, even the words, " nés dans la corruption," were suppressed as being too dogmatical. It is not easy to apologise for the " venerable company," nor to explain the fears which have moved them to take such a step; but that they may be heard through their principal and apologist, M. Chenevière, professor of Theology in the University of Geneva, I will transcribe the account which he has given of the matter, in a pamphlet entitled, " Précis des Débats Théologiques, qui depuis quelques années ont agité la ville de Genève."

" Tous étaient également pénétrés de la nécessité d'éloigner de semblables disputes de la chaire chrétienne, de s'attacher non aux termes mais à l'esprit de l'Evangile, d'aimer et d'entretenir la paix. Ce fut donc cet esprit, et avec l'assentiment des diverses parties, que fut rédigé le réglement du 3 Mai, 1817, dont le considérant constitue en effet la partie essentielle. Le voici dans son entier.

" La compagnie des pasteurs de l'Eglise de Genève pénétrée d' un esprit d' humilité, de paix et de charité chrétienne, et convaincue que les circonstances où se trouve l'Eglise confiée à ses soins, exigent de sa part des mesures de sagesse et de prudence, arrête, sans porter aucun jugement sur le fond des questions suivantes, et sans gêner en

aucune manière la liberté des opinions, de faire prendre, soit aux proposans qui demanderont à être consacrés au saint ministère, soit aux ministres qui aspireront à exercer dans l'Eglise de Genève les fonctions pastorales, l'engagement dont voici la teneur: ' Nous promettons de nous abstenir, tant que nous residerons et que nous prêcherons dans les églises du canton de Genève, d'établir, soit par un discours entier, soit par une partie de discours dirigée vers ce but notre opinion :

" 1°. Sur la manière dont la nature divine est unie à la personne de Jésus Christ.

" 2°. Sur le péché originel.

" 3°. Sur la manière dont la grâce opère, ou sur la grâce efficiente.

" 4°. Sur la prédestination.

" Nous promettons aussi de ne point combattre dans des discours publics l'opinion de quelque pasteur ou ministre sur ces matières. Enfin nous nous engageons, si nous sommes conduits à émettre notre pensée sur l'un de ces sujets, à le faire, sans abonder dans notre sens, en évitant les expressions étrangères aux Saintes Ecritures, et en nous servant, autant que possible, des termes qu'elles emploient."

This defence and exposition of the objects which the " venerable company" had in view, when they promulgated their memorable regulation, was published in the year 1824 by the Genevan pastor who is professor of theology.

Within the last two years it has been judged expedient to suppress the Réglement, and it is no longer enforced. The candidates for holy orders, whom the faculty of Theology at Geneva now admit into the sacred office, are not obliged to enter into any such engagements. They are simply required to declare their belief in the Scriptures, and to take the Word of God for the rule of their faith and conduct. At the examinations previously to ordination, a thesis is presented, and if approved in point of style and composition, it is published with the professor's imprimatur to the following effect: "The faculty of Theology having examined this thesis permit it to pass; but without expressing any opinion as to the propositions therein contained." Such is Geneva, and its theological consistency at the present time. Its pastors are for the most part unwilling to declare themselves, and its professors of divinity refuse to commit themselves or their students to any decided line of faith; its press presumes upon this laxity, and the result is, that the liturgies, catechisms, and confessions of faith, which the reformed Churches of France, and the primitive Church of the Valleys, might formerly receive with confidence, are now so disfigured by the several suppressions, that their original tendency is scarcely recognizable. It is, therefore, with a jealous eye, that those who have hitherto looked with joy to the little lamp of the wilderness, now see its oil

supplied from such vessels. Hitherto no evil has accrued. The desks, and pulpits of the churches of the valleys, still present to the enquirer's hand the time-worn and time-honoured books of prayer, whose title-pages bear the date of other and of better days. But when these venerable copies shall be mouldering away, from whence shall faithful counterparts be obtained; or who shall say, that error will not creep into the sanctuaries of the Waldenses, under the cover of new editions, and reprints?

Another peril threatens the Vaudois. At present the orthodoxy of the living pastors, and the sage counsel and surveillance of fathers may keep their sons true to the faith of the ancient Waldenses, albeit that they study at Geneva. But in the course of another generation or two, should Genevan divinity be equally liberal, and the Vaudois youth still be tempted to accept the exhibitions at Geneva, when those at Lausanne are filled up,—(I ought to state here, that by far the greater majority of young men intended for the Waldensian ministry are educated at Lausanne)—is there not every reason to fear that some leavening may take place, and little though it be at first, that it may eventually leaven the whole lump?

Of what is it that the Vaudois make their honourable boast? And why is it that the name of this mountain congregation is so dear to all the Churches? Not for their sufferings merely, or

for the persecutions that they have frequently endured; but for their witness to the truth in all its bearings. The valleys of Piemont are of no further importance to Christendom, than as having produced, from one generation to another, since the dawn of ecclesiastical history, and as continuing to produce, a race of confessors, who have never yet denied the Lord who bought them. And what are the proofs of their perseverance, and the evidence of their fidelity? The Noble Lesson, and the ancient catechism of the twelfth century, and the manifestos and confessions of faith from age to age, which have been signed at the cost or hazard of life, and have been handed down from father to son, as an inheritance more precious than the wealth of provinces. The Vaudois are too deeply compromised, by the articles and clauses of these well known documents, to depart one inch from the post of unflinching duty, which they have hitherto held. No questionable orthodoxy, no diluted divinity, no reserve on matters of doctrine [1],

[1] In proof of the chilling and withering effects produced by the decisions of "the Venerable Company of Pastors" of Geneva, I beg to refer my readers to one of the last works of the learned, and, I believe, pious and orthodox Cellerier, professor of Hebrew and of Sacred Criticism in the University of Geneva, "De L'Origine authentic et divine du Nouveau Testament," published 1829. The fourth chapter contains questions relative to the especial character and object of each Gospel. In the discussion upon the Gospel of St. John, one could hardly imagine by what

no timid, wavering declarations; no engagements to abstain from handling disputed questions will do for them. The descendants of men, who chanted the hymn of the ancient Barbes of Piemont, and magnified the Holy Trinity, and adored God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, and mourned over the havoc of original sin in the metrical strains of La Nobla Leyçon, (see p. 141) must not sign away their ancestors' Christianity at

ingenuity the author could avoid touching upon those passages, which assert the Godhead of our Lord Jesus Christ, and which are its distinguishing features. I transcribe the sentences which appear as if they must lead to a fair grappling with the subject, and it will be seen how determined the professor is to fly from it. " Mais ce qui distingue surtout son livre de ceux de Luc, Marc et Matthieu, c'est le caractère nouveau dont il revet les enseignemens du Sauveur.——Ce n'est plus un docteur, ce n'est plus un prophète qui parle aux hommes en leur langue, c'est le Fils de Dieu qui fait entendre le langage du ciel dont il est descendu, mais où il semble respirer encore.——Amour, éternité, miséricorde, réconciliation de la terre et du ciel, sacrifice sanglant de l'Agneau de Dieu, telles sont les touchantes scènes placées sur le premier plan de cet auguste tableau. Union du Père et du Fils, divine efficace de l'Esprit-Saint, mystérieux abîmes des conseils de Dieu!——Jean, uniquement occupé de montrer dans Jésus Christ le Prince de la vie, et File ls de Dieu, semble oublier de voir en lui le fils de Marie.—Les trois premiers évangélistes ayant voulu faire l'histoire de la Nature humaine du Christ, Jean avait voulu consacrer le sien à sa nature divine."——These are the strongest sentiments expressed in the whole passage, not one of which developes the mystery of godliness.—God manifest in the flesh.

the invitation of Genevan liberality, nor must they be suspected of doing so.

The Peyranis, and the Berts, and the Mustons, and the Vinçons, and the Monastiers, and the Rostaings, and other notables of the present day, whose names, under the hands of their forefathers, are emblazoned on declarations of adherence "TO THE SOUND DOCTRINES" of all the Reformed Churches of Europe, (see p. 145) are pledged for themselves and their posterity to subscribe to the eternal truths of God, "even as their ancestors have done from the days of the Apostles," and to be proof against temptations as well as perils. It should, therefore, become a question, how far the children of Waldenses who are still taught to approach their Redeemer as "very God and very Man;" who learn in the words of their catechism, that Jesus Christ "is of the same nature with the Father," and who are taught by that catechism to cite Scripture in explanation of the eternity of this union, can be consistently entrusted to the charge of professors of Theology, whose avowed opinions are hostile to any discussion of the subject. Considering that it is imperative upon the Vaudois themselves, and upon those who have gazed with admiration upon the "light shining in the darkness," upon the Golden Candlestick of the Alps, that has never yet been removed, to devise some plan which may avert the danger that impends from connexion with Geneva,—I

undertook the duty and obloquy of this task, the result of which I shall communicate in the due course of my narrative. (See Chapter X.)

I have before observed, that although the public church service of the Vaudois clergy is light, their pastoral charge out of church is sufficiently laborious. The preparation for delivering their sermons from the pulpit, memoriter, is more or less burthensome, according to their several abilities; but the duty of visiting the sick and aged presses hard upon all of them, especially upon those who dwell in the more mountainous parishes. There, the conscientious pastor's work is never ended. His labour encreases with his zeal: the earnestness of his exhortations renders the object of his spiritual concern more desirous of seeing him again and again, and he himself at the same time is proportionably moved to further exertions. My intercourse with these worthy men, and the correspondence which I held with some of them upon this subject, enable me to say confidently, that I believe they seldom spare themselves, but are perpetually at the call of their flock, in the hour of sorrow or sickness. I cannot resist the tempta tion of giving extracts out of some letters, which I received in reference to this point, they will best explain how this pastoral duty is regarded and performed, by the several writers.

1. " One of my most precious and pleasing occu-

pations is to visit those who are confined to their homes by age or illness; not only when I am summoned, but whenever I think I can put in a word of consolation, I hasten to the discharge of this sacred duty. In general, the salubrity of the air and the simple life which my people lead, keep the numbers low on the sick list; but these causes, on the other hand, increase the ranks of the aged, and give me enough to do, for, as you well know, many of the habitations are at such a distance from my presbytery, that it is no easy task to make my rounds as often as I ought.

2. "It is my great comfort, that I have not been totally unsuccessful in carrying joy and peace to the dwellings of the afflicted. The scriptural passage read, and the prayer offered, have been apparently accompanied with blessed results, praise to Him, who has granted His blessing through Jesus Christ our Lord, in many cases; and I have observed that several of those, who at one time were not such as I could have wished them to be, have had their hearts touched during their maladies, and after being graciously restored to health, have become more pious and more religiously attentive to their duties.

3. "I make a point of visiting the sick of my parish invited or uninvited, for then is the season of softened hearts and tender consciences, the 'mollia tempora fandi.' Upon these occasions I adapt my conversation and prayers to the circum-

stances of their cases, and never does any ministry produce fruits more satisfactory to myself. I could mention the names of persons who have put off the old man, and put on the new man after the image of Him that created them, and I take care not to lose the influence which I have acquired by their bed-sides.

4. " My ministry in this department is chiefly exercised among the aged; and when it is known that I am going to read or to pray in the houses of any of my grey-headed brethren, their chambers present an edifying spectacle of friends and neighbours coming in to kneel down with us, and to invoke the presence of the Holy Spirit. When the sick require to be comforted with the word of God, I think the master of the great school is sent for more frequently than myself; perhaps it is, because some of their houses are so far from mine, or in consideration of my great age.

5. " MyChurch is composed of hamlets far distant from each other, and many of them high up on the acclivities of the mountain; nevertheless I feel it to be a sacred duty, and dear to my heart, to obey every summons, at whatever hour, or under whatever circumstances they may be made, and to hasten to the side of those, who desire the presence and consolations of their friend and pastor. I hope I myself profit upon such occasions. I endeavour not to lose the influence which is invariably gained after such visits. I see them on every opportunity, and exhort them to redouble

their submission, their obedience, their love towards Him who kills, and who makes alive. Independent of the word of God, touching the corruption and misery of man, my own experience and my observations convince me, that we are frail, perverse, and corrupt beings, else so many good resolutions made on the bed of sickness would not so soon be forgotten. I hope many of my flock keep the vows which they made, when they fear lest their souls are going down to the grave—but I know at the same time that they cannot be true to their most solemn engagements without help from above. May the Lord Jesus Christ give me and mine the strength that we require.

6. " In general those who are ill signify a desire to see me. The prayers which I offer up on such occasions are for the most part extempore, adapted to the occasion. If my visit is expected, there are many present to join in supplications to God for the invalid. I endeavour to convince the sufferer of the vanity of all earthly things, and the insufficiency of all human succour. I direct his thoughts to the price that was paid for his redemption, and remind him that there is none other name under heaven given among men but that of Jesus Christ, whereby we must be saved. I have seldom attended a dying man, without having reason to think that he considered that to die was gain [1]."

[1] Several Vaudois Pastors made similar observations upon this awful subject.

I had an opportunity of witnessing the manner in which these interesting duties are conducted.

Mr. Bert had made an appointment to pray with a venerable parishioner, whom the weight of years was bringing gently down to the grave, on this first Sunday after my arrival. At his invitation I accompanied him. I felt that it was good for me to be there. The dying man was supported in his bed by some attentive children or grandchildren, and seemed more like one who was to give, than to receive exhortation and comfort. After a word or two from his pastor, he took up his parable, and continued it with a strength of voice and an earnestness of manner, which evinced a foretaste of heaven. There was neither rapture nor presumption in any thing that fell from his mouth; but an expression of humble confidence in his Redeemer's love, and of dependence on the promises of God, which denoted him to be in full possession of that peace, which passeth understanding. Mr. Bert spoke of me to the old man as an English clergyman; he desired my prayers, and promised to remember me in his. "I am eighty-three years of age," said he, "and my testimony of God's graciousness and mercy is more than that of David. I have never been forsaken even in my unrighteousness; God is with me in my old age, though I have too often gone astray from him, both in youth and age."

The silent respect with which the pastor of La

Torre listened to this old man, and the very fact of his saying so little, and being a listener, until he raised his voice in thanksgiving, for the consolation that was bestowed from above upon the expiring saint, spoke more for his own piety than the most copious and fervent address, which he could have delivered.

From Christmas to Whitsunday, the pastors deliver a sermon on Thursdays, and the solemn preparation for the reception of communicants at the Lord's table, four times during the year, occupying nearly the whole of eight weeks; the custom of going to every hamlet once at least in the course of the year, and assembling all the inhabitants for the purpose of questioning them as to their spiritual condition and wants; and the weekly catechising both in the church and at the presbytery, during appointed seasons, are services which not only bring the clergy into regular communication with their flocks, but are of a nature to remove the opinions, which might otherwise be formed, of the lightness of their public and prescribed duties.

One of the younger pastors has undertaken to open his church for a third Sunday service, at which he reads the prayers and Scripture himself, and gives a familiar explanation of some scriptural passage. I heartily wish this good example may be followed generally, it would be more likely than any thing else to render the

Lord's day what it ought to be,—a day not only of rest, but of holy rest and solemn convocation before the Lord,—and to bind the Vaudois to a more sacred regard of the Sabbath than is at present observed. I am persuaded that nobody, who has been in the valleys, can accuse our Protestant brethren there of profaning Sunday, as it is profaned among ourselves, by entertainments, which employ our servants from morning till night, and by those licentious scenes which disgrace the streets of almost every populous town in England.

The Vaudois do not make regulations to guard the sanctity of the day, as we do, and profess to hallow it, while they virtually desecrate it; of this they are not guilty. But they certainly indulge themselves in amusements, which are inconsistent with the spirit of an institution mercifully intended to bring us into closer communion with God. Their favourite game of bowls is not suspended. The tirata, or firing at marks, is pursued with eagerness, when they can meet the expense of it: and after the hours of public worship, the remainder of the day is spent more like a festival than a solemnity. This the friends of the Vaudois would gladly see corrected. There is much to be said in extenuation of their lax observance of the Lord's day; but still nobody can justify it, who has serious opinions of the necessity of devoting ourselves one day in seven to seeking God with all our hearts and minds. The practice of all

around them has been urged in excuse—and the duty of glorifying God by cheerfulness and mirth, so long as no intemperance or revelry disturbs the serenity of their deportment. But the best argument in their favour is the example of many of the early Christians, who may perhaps have handed down to them a practice, which partook of the leaven of Paganism, and made the line too faint between holiday and holy-day.

"From incidental notices scattered over Tertullian's works, we collect," says the Bishop of Lincoln, "that Sunday, or the Lord's day was regarded by the primitive Christians as a day of rejoicing." In our own country, the day of public worship was observed with so little strictness in the time of the Reformers, that an act was passed in the reign of Edward VI., not to suppress, but to regulate Sunday sports. Subsequent acts, which absolutely have the effect of legalizing some games and recreations, were enrolled under the government of James I. and Charles I. That spiritual improvement, and field, or in-door sports are consistent one with the other, is no easy matter to prove, and it must remain equally hard to reconcile the conscience to that sort of liberty, which is in direct violation of the precept, and the object for which one day in seven was set apart for sacred purposes, first by the Jewish, and afterwards by the Christian Church.

If we are to sanctify the day in earnest, it can

only be done by honouring the Lord the whole day, "by not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasures, nor speaking thine own words[1]."

The evening of my first Sabbath in the valleys was closed as it should be. Mr. Bert assembled his household to family prayer; a chapter of the Testament was read, a hymn was sung, and the Divine blessing and protection were implored. Our host and his family, the female servant as well as his children, joined in the Scripture lesson,

[1] "The nature of these solemn duties seems sufficiently to indicate the manner in which we ought to spend the large portion of that day, which cannot be devoted, or, at least, which never is devoted to the public service of the sanctuary. How utterly shocked should we have been by the inconsistent conduct of our Lord's disciples, had we found them rushing forth from their retirement, from that spot hallowed by their Saviour's presence, to mingle in the round of worldly business, or in scenes of frivolity and amusement, or in the haunts of unhallowed and guilty pleasure. Are there then any among us, who, after performing the public services of the day, think themselves entitled to spend the remainder of it entirely in such a manner as may best suit their interests, their convenience, their pleasure, and never feel that they are thus flagrantly transgressing the solemn command of Him, who hath wholly sanctified it to himself? But how, it is often said, how is the whole length of the day to be consumed in religious exercises? Is it to be spent in the abstraction from all enjoyment, from all recreation, from all pleasurable amusement? This question is generally put by those who feel the Sabbath to be an intolerable burden, who know nothing of religion but its empty forms, who give nothing of religious service to God, but what they dare not withhold."—*Irvine's Sermons, Preached in the Temple Church, London.*

verse by verse, and I thought I never heard French sound so well, as when it was recited by the servant with the Italian pronunciation, and even with a slight patois termination of final vowels.

For example, the 34th verse of John iii. was read as if *annonce* was a word of three, and *donne* of two, syllables.

" Car celui que Dieu a envoyé annonce les paroles de Dieu: car Dieu ne lui donne point l'Esprit par mesure."

The patois version of the same verse runs thus:

" Perqué quel que Diou ha mandà annoncia le parole de Diou, perqué Diou l'i donna pâ le Sprit per mesure."

In reading the metrical lines of the Psalms of David, the Vaudois almost always sounded the final mutes, especially if it helped the rhythm; as Chaucer meant the word *yarde* to be pronounced in the second of those beautifully descriptive lines—

" Her yellow hair was braided in a tress
Behind her back, a yardé long I guess."

CHAPTER IV.

The Office of Pasteur-Chapelain to the Protestant Ambassadors at Turin. Silk-worms—Tirata—San Giovanni. Angrogna.

JUNE 29 to July 4. My brother arrived at La Torre, and the domestic party was further increased by the accession of M. and Madame Bonjour, the son-in-law and daughter of M. Bert. M. Bonjour occupies the important station of chaplain to the three Protestant Ambassadors at the Court of Turin, the British, the Prussian, and the Dutch, and no man is more qualified to fill it. But for this appointment, the Protestants resident in Turin would not have the benefit of public service. It is prohibited to celebrate the rites of the reformed Churches except in the privileged house of a foreign minister; and the three Ambassadors not only give a stipend to the chaplain of 1000 francs each, but permit the service to be performed in the French language, and according to the forms usually adopted in the churches of the valleys, and provide a room large enough for the accommodation of a numerous congregation. I should pronounce the movement, which led to this appointment, to be one of the

most important in regard to the Protestant cause, which has taken place in Italy for many ages. It involves concessions and recognitions, the extent of which was not perhaps contemplated when they were first made.

The ministers of the Protestant powers above mentioned, having resolved to nominate a clergyman, who should be the common chaplain of the three legations, fixed upon M. Bonjour, who, previously to his new charge, was the master of the Latin school at La Torre, and in the line to succeed to one of the first Vaudois parishes that might become vacant. It was of consequence, therefore, to him, that his appointment to the chaplaincy at Turin should not throw him out of the order of succession, or vitiate his claim to fill up a vacancy in the Waldensian Church. Therefore, when the Count Waldbourg Truckses, the Prussian minister, wrote to the officers of the Table, 27th June, 1827, to request that body to sanction the choice of himself and colleagues in the election of M. Bonjour, they signified their provisional approbation, and guaranteed the rights of that clergyman, until the meeting of the next Waldensian synod. When the synod assembled in the following year, September 1828, the matter was brought formally before the assembly, and became the subject of the 18th article.

"It having been proposed to this assembly to take into consideration the application, made by

the ministers plenipotentiary of the Protestant powers at the court of Turin, to the Table in June 1827, that the ministry of M. Bonjour should be exercised in their chapel, the synod resolves that the decision made in regard to this application by the Table, on the 6th of July, 1827, was just and equitable. The synod sanctions it, and recognises the ministry exercised by M. Bonjour at Turin, as much as if it were exercised in the valleys, and guarantees to him the full possession of his rights in relation to the other pastors, to his juniors, and to the Vaudois Church: at the same time it resolves, that as M. Bonjour enjoys the advantages, he must also participate in the charges imposed upon the body of pastors."

After this resolution of synod, M. Bonjour adopted the style of Pasteur-Chapelaine, and under this character he is now addressed. But the importance of the proceedings depends upon the joint recognition of the Protestant ambassadors, the Waldensian Church, and the Sardinian government. No synod can be convoked without the king's permission, nor held but in the presence of the intendant of the province, who represents the sovereign, and whose duty is to take care that nothing illegal is done. When the acts of the synod have passed, without any veto on the part of the intendant, their validity and legality is tacitly acknowledged by the government. This transaction, therefore, must be considered as a

great step gained. The Protestant ambassadors desire to have a chaplain to officiate for them at Turin; they make application to a Christian community, which they regard as an organised, regular Church. The application is received and granted, and the transaction is enrolled with all the necessary formularies, in which the king's representative takes part. When the moderator addressed the synod, before it was dissolved, he had reason enough to congratulate them upon the matter, and I am glad to be able to record his sentiments.

"Such a proceeding is not only an act of condescension on the part of their excellencies, the Protestant ambassadors, but it has the effect of recognising the rights of our Church, in relation to M. Bonjour, and his rights in relation to our Church. We perceive in it one link more in the tie which exists between us, our benefactors, and our Church."

M. Bonjour's visit to his father-in-law threw me into confidential intercourse with a person, whose station at Turin, and whose intimate acquaintance with every thing connected with the ministerial and scholastic interests of the community, rendered him a most valuable adviser and ally, and I soon determined to consult him, and to respect his opinion upon every project which I had in contemplation.

Every thing combined to make this week one of

the most interesting of those, which we spent in La Torre. It was the harvest-home of the produce of our host's silk-worms, and his friends and neighbours came to felicitate him upon the occasion, and to assist the family in collecting and preparing the cocoons, or silk balls, for the purchaser. The merry-making upon such events is one of the festivities peculiar to the country, the recollection of which is sweet upon the memory. When it was supposed that the insects had performed their work, the silk balls were carefully taken from the faggots, or brush wood, to which they had been suspended, and brought down to the farm yard, where they were picked and sorted by a lively group seated in a circle, whose occupation it was to separate them from the outer web, or film, and to throw them so cleaned into one large basket. This was the last process before they were ready for the market, and then nothing remained but to weigh and sell them.

The party, whose services had been volunteered for the purpose, dined with us, and the pastor's modest mansion rung with the sounds of mirth and good humour. The laws of hospitality required that I, as a stranger, should have the seat of honour, and the seat of honour was the host's chair at the head of the table, which said as much as " you are master here." The task of helping the guests to the principal dish fell in consequence to my lot, and this soon made me feel at home

with every one of the party. I had seen the Vaudois in their more serious moods, and now I was to be a listener and a looker on during their hour of convivial unreserve. The innocent joke and the harmless jest went round, and now and then the favourite topic, the martial spirit of their ancestors, banished lighter themes for a moment, and the men elevated their voices, and the females changed countenance, while the mention of a pass or defile brought to recollection the name of a Jahier or a Janavel of other days. There is a pride which the "Men of the Valleys" feel in alluding to the deeds of their forefathers, which is perfectly irrepressible; their brows contract, and their indignation kindles, and their lips quiver at the slightest reference to the cruelties inflicted by the scourges of their country in the seventeenth century; but, on the other hand, by an effort of submission or forbearance, which contrasts strongly with these bursts of resentment, they betray the least possible emotion when any allusion is made to their present wrongs; and yet this does not proceed from apprehension of the consequences of any imprudent ebullition, or from want of confidence either in one another, or in the strangers who are admitted into their company. It happened to me, many times, to have opportunities of remarking the extraordinary frankness which prevails among them, when they associate together; they have no reserve upon subjects the

most important, but express themselves to each other as openly, as if it were the last thing in the world to be betrayed, or to think it necessary to have secrets. I received a letter from one of the pastors, the contents of which the writer certainly would not have been pleased to have had exposed to any eye but mine—and yet he sent it by a lad unsealed: as if he could not have suspected that any hand but my own would open it. This tells well for the whole community, and the observation does not arise out of one or two instances, in which this mutual confidence was manifested, but from repeated proofs of it. Hospitality is the virtue of mountain countries. Wherever I was in the valleys, I received visits, and the visitors coming from some distance, were invariably invited to stay and take their repast, whether sufficient provision were made or not for the additional mouths; and the same unreserve, of which I have been speaking, characterised every circle.

A word now upon the management of the silkworms. Raw silk is not only the staple commodity of Piemont, but some of the best comes from the valleys of Luserna and Perosa, and it is one of the greatest resources which the Vaudois possess. Lalande, who in his entertaining volumes entitled "Voyage en Italie," occupied more than two hundred pages with a description of Piemont, yet suffered the scene of Waldensian story to escape his personal observation. But, as if by an

after-thought, he lent one little corner to the valley of Luserna, and cited that which M. Bernouilli had written upon it; and it would seem that the three points which fastened upon M. Bernouilli's memory were, the state of the roads; the kidnapping institution at Pinerolo, for the instruction of Vaudois children in the Roman Catholic religion; and the amount of silk produced in the valley. "Very near Luserna," said he, "are two villages, the one called St. Jean, the other La Tour. In the last I saw one of the most considerable filatures in Italy; the quantity of cocoons, as they informed me, amounted to 2000 roubs, or 50,000lbs. weight, and the filature of these cocoons lasts till the end of September. I remarked that they turned the wheel with the foot, and not with the hand, as I have seen in other filatures, by means of a handle which they turn alternately, first with one hand and then with the other. The advantage which they have here in turning with the foot, and not with the hand, consists not only in their moving the reel more rapidly, but in directing the movement which acts upon the cocoon, and of stopping it when necessary."

The filature at La Torre is no longer to be found; and, among other deprivations, the Vaudois are the poorer by the loss of that manufactory, which employed hands enough to reel 50,000lbs. weight of silk in the year. This great work is

now conducted at Pinerolo. There is a small concern of the kind at San Germano in Val Perosa, but it cannot compete with that mentioned by M. Bernouilli, although the same district still supplies the mills with a very great quantity of the raw material.

The eggs of the silk-worm, the bombyx, or phalena mori, produce their larvæ about the end of April or the beginning of May. By good management it is possible to accelerate the developement of the worm, by placing the eggs in a stove-room, the temperature of which should be raised gradually in the course of twelve days from 64° to 82°. This, however, is more a matter of experiment than of common practice. The egg is about the size of a small pin's head, and when the animal first issues from the shell, it measures about one-fortieth of its full grown length, and weighs only the hundredth part of a grain. It undergoes five changes or moultings, and in a month it has attained its full size, and the rapid increase of one-fifth of an ounce, or ninety-five times its own weight, from the time it came from the egg.

A further calculation has established the remarkable fact, that the silk-worm is so voracious, as to consume in thirty days more than an ounce of leaves, or five times its own weight, when it is at its greatest size. This voraciousness not only renders the silk-worm an expensive and difficult animal to rear, unless the supply of food is ample,

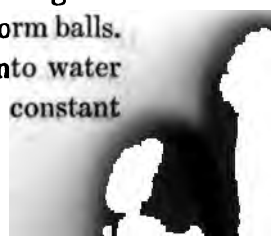
but exposes it to diseases which often prove fatal: hence in years when the leaves of the mulberry-tree are scanty or of a bad quality, the peasants lose their stock, or secure it at a heavy cost, and are disappointed of one of their principal hopes. This was the case in many instances within our observation in 1829. The poor woman, whom I before mentioned, raised as much silk (fifty pounds) as sold for sixty francs; but her mulberry-leaves cost her nearly as much. It requires twelve pounds weight of leaves to feed the number of worms necessary to produce one pound weight of silk cocoons.

The temperature, which the silk-worms demand, is another provision which the hovel of a Vaudois peasant cannot always command. In fact, such nice attention and unremitting care are needful to reap the harvest, when the worms are performing their last operations, that they keep watch night and day to prevent any mishap, and to secure the cocoon at the precise time when it is completely formed. When the insect is full grown, and has fed himself into working order, he begins that process which prepares him for a new state of existence, and which supplies man with the richest and softest material for dress or ornament. "Assuredly," as Reaumur says, "he must have been taught to perform his task by some great Master." He first encloses himself in a loose web of the slightest tissue; this occupies one day. On the

second day he draws a more regular and a closer line of circumvallation. On the third day he finishes the outworks of his ball,. and conceals himself within the veil of silk. The cocoon is then complete to the eye of the observer, but the artificer in the interior is still busy, and he goes on toiling for seven or eight days more.

Then is the critical time. When the animal is supposed to have finished, and to be in a state of torpor, the silk balls should be taken down from the branches on the frame work, to which they are suspended, and exposed to a degree of heat which will kill the incarcerated workman; otherwise, he will recover his energies after a certain interval, and damage the silk by working a hole out of his prison-house, to assume his new but short-lived character of a moth, to breed and die. The finest and strongest cocoons are kept to perpetuate the stock. The rest are prepared for sale by clearing away the outer web or film, as I before described, and in this form, and about the size of a pigeon's egg, they are ready for the market. Very few growers reel off their own cocoons; this operation forms a separate concern. The cocoons fetch about one franc and a quarter per lb. more or less, according to their quality.

Next for the filature, or mode of winding the silk into threads fit for use, from the silk-worm balls. This is done by throwing the cocoons into water nearly boiling hot, and keeping them in constant



motion: the ends are then detached from the balls by means of wisps of birch or rice straw, and are gradually wound off by machinery upon a reel, which uniting the fibres of four or five balls into one thread, form a skein of sufficient strength and thickness. The single threads, as they are drawn out from the cocoons, are by far too fine and delicate for use, and the skill of the reeler depends upon the nicety, with which he joins the fibre of one cocoon to that of another, before it is exhausted, for those near the end of the ball have not more than a quarter of their full thickness.

The art of combining the fibres of the cocoons, and of twisting a thread of sufficient substance, was looked upon as a mystery of the most profound nature, and great precautions were taken for many years to confine it within the walls of the Piemontese manufactories. The wretched policy of the Sardinian government, and the perseverance of an English merchant, led to the promulgation of the secret. About a hundred years ago, when persecution drove many of the Protestant inhabitants of the valleys of Perosa and Pragela to seek refuge in foreign countries, some of them fled to England. The account, which one of these emigrants gave to Mr. John Lombe, of the wonderful performances of the machinery used in Piemont, induced that enterprising speculator to take a journey across the Alps, and to examine the reels with his own eyes. This was done at no

inconsiderable personal risk, for he not only obtained access to the forbidden objects, but he made such drawings of them, as enabled him to give orders for the construction of similar machines, on his return to England. The model, which is still shewn in the Tower of London, and the silk mills which were in process of time erected at Derby, and in other parts of England, were the fruits of Mr. Lombe's adventurous spirit, and originated in a communication made by a Vaudois sufferer for the truth's sake. The reader will pardon this long history of the silk-worm and its production, for the sake of the concluding anecdote; but there needs no apology for adding Vincent Bournes' beautiful lines on the bombyx, by way of helping the memory of those, who would like to remember the principal passages in the life of that extraordinary insect, whose appetite requires 60,000 times its primitive weight in vegetable substance, during its brief existence of one month; and which takes ten days only to weave a thread, which, if drawn out in length, would reach the extent of six English miles.

BOMBYX.

Fine sub Aprilis bombyx excluditur ovo,
  Reptilis exiguo corpore vermiculus.
Frondibus hinc mori, volvox dum fiat adultus,
  Gnaviter incumbens, dum satietur, edit.
Crescendo ad justum cum jam maturuit ævum,
  Incipit artifici stamine textor opus:

Filaque condensans filis, orbem implicat orbi,
Et sensim in gyris, conditus ipse latet.
Inque cadi teretem formam se colligit, unde
Egrediens pennas papilionis habet:
Fitque parens tandem, fœtumque reponit in ovis;
Hoc demum extremo munere functus, obit.
Quotquot in hac nostra spirant animalia terra,
Nulli est vel brevior vita, vel utilior.

The annual fair of La Torre was held this week, on Wednesday, July 1st; and this gave me the advantage of observing the Vaudois character under a new aspect. In their churches, in their schools, in their fields, in their families, in their hours of convivial gladsomeness, I might expect to find them in character with themselves; and the remarks which the preceding pages contain, are thrown together as the result of my two months' observation, and not as the hasty expression of my first week's observation only. I confess it was with some degree of apprehension, lest any thing disgraceful should occur upon an occasion so trying to morals, that I determined to mingle in the throng which now crowded the usually quiet street of La Torre. I could not forget our English fairs, or their demoralizing effects. Nothing could be more picturesque than the whole scene. As I walked from the hamlet of San Margarita to the main village, not only was the road filled with moving objects, with buyers and sellers in their various costumes, and arrayed in their best apparel, but

the sides of the acclivities on each side, and the mountain paths also were alive with the gathering together of the people, approaching in merry groups, or individually, towards the same spot. Peasants from the plains of Piemont, and strangers from the French frontier swelled the crowd; and the street was so densely occupied, that it was no easy matter to push on to the wider part of the village dignified by the name of Piazza, where the wares and merchandise were exposed to sale. Beyond this, towards the bridge thrown over the Angrogna torrent, which tumbles into the Pelice, and as far as the road that divides off to San Giovanni and Luserna, the whole space on each side was allotted to those who had brought their mules, asses, sheep, goats, and cows to market. These animals and some of their wild looking owners, the mountain stream, and grove of chesnuts on its banks, its long wooden bridge, the water-mill, the Catholic church and Maison Curiale, when seen from the spot from which the annexed sketch of the entrance into La Torre was taken, presented a striking foreground to the fine distant prospect, breaking in over the village, and closed by Castelluzzo to the left, and by the rocky heights of Tagliaretta and Vandelin in the centre and towards the right. Few persons can enter La Torre without feeling that as soon as they have crossed its bridge, they are in a new country—that which they have left behind them, even San Giovanni,

belongs to the great plain of Piemont, but now they are in the valleys: mountains enclose them on each side, and they are more and more walled in by rock and cliff, the further they advance. The roaring Pelice is seldom lost to the eye or ear; its noisy tributary streams are crossed at short intervals. There is no longer the undulating landscape, with green or variegated slopes, and extensive levels of lowland, where abundant corn and grass attest the bounty of nature; but there is the abrupt and broken ground, there is rock contending with soil, and the elements with man. The earth still pours forth her riches in places, but it is only in places: the field, or ridge waving with grain, is immediately contiguous to a mass of crags torn from the crest that breaks the clouds, or to a bed of sand or stones brought down with the waters. These features increase and become more marked as you ascend this or any Alpine valley; patches of cultivation become thinner; the vine, the walnut, and the chesnut give way to the pine—this too at last disappears, and a wilderness of cliff, assuming a thousand formidable or grotesque forms, proclaims that such wild places are only for the occasional retreat, and not for the habitation of man. The pathways that lead to these rocky summits narrow as they ascend; rugged and more rugged is every access: at last the traces of footsteps disappear; the adventurer makes his way over a debris that has fallen from above, and tells

that more may yet fall and crush him; the precipice appears to yawn for him; but the very danger is inviting, and he urges on his onward pace, not only to see more of these stern dominions of the eagle and the vulture, but because he has a pleasure in sounding his own courage, in trying the strength of his nerves, and proving to himself and to others, that he is not to be outdone.

By some of the least arduous of these paths, many of the people, and some of the cattle had come to the fair of La Torre, anxious to obtain the amount of their rents or taxes, or of some money demand, by selling a mule, a cow, or a few sheep or goats. I know that some of these traffickers came fifty miles at the least, and crossed the main chain of the Alpine barrier between France and Italy, to carry back thirty or forty francs into Provence or Dauphiné, and that this journey is risked every year for the same purpose.

In the booths I recognised the cottons of Manchester, and the hardware of Birmingham, and was made to smile by the earnestness with which I was assured that some paltry knives and scissars, of the very worst and hastiest manufacture, the refuse of our own markets, were "real English." But the hardware of the continent is, generally speaking, so very inferior to our own, that it is no wonder to hear a blade puffed [illegible] which, bad as we might consider it, rises [illegible] value above the common articles of [illegible]

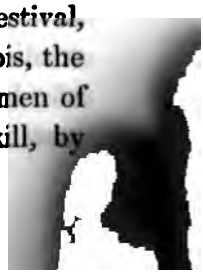
sort of France and Italy. Coarse woollen cloths, and wearing apparel of all kinds, commodities of household use, implements of husbandry and handicraft, fruit, vegetables, and corn, were the principal things exposed to sale. A few toy-stalls were decorated in their most attractive array to cause longings and heart-burnings among the Vaudois children, who accompanied their parents to the fair. There was also some display of finery, and gawdy ribbons, and embroidered handkerchiefs of silk and gauze, were suspended in alluring lines to tempt the daughters of vanity, and to turn the heads of the damsels of the mountains.

One little trait of character pleased me excessively. I observed the eye of a boy of ten years of age resting with admiring, perhaps with wishful gaze, upon the treasures of one of the toy stalls. He was the son of a pastor, and I desired him to tell me what he would like to have among the glittering and amusing objects before him. He modestly declined making any choice. In vain I urged him to select something. He could not be tempted to accept my offer. At last I bought an English knife, and put it into his hand; he then burst into tears, and it was with the utmost difficulty, and only at the command of one of his relations, that he could be persuaded to put it into his pocket. The secret of his tears and reluctance was this. He was fearful lest his longing

look should have been mistaken for a mode of asking, and his fine spirit was racked by the idea. I had other opportunities of noticing this noble-minded boy. He seemed a lovely, and a tender plant, not long for this world,—and I fear that he is now only to be remembered among the number of those regretted objects, whose display of early talent and feeling is the presage of an early death. His parents have already been bereaved of children untimely cut off. The hectic colour, and delicate appearance of this lad, gave but little hope of his arriving at maturity. Perhaps, while my heart warms at the recollection of him, his is cold in the grave.

The fair did not have the effect of removing any of my predilections in favour of the Vaudois population. Unlike our English fairs, it was a mart of business, not of amusement. There were no shows, and nothing to lead to riot or levity. I saw no intemperance, I heard no offensive language: I witnessed no act of rudeness, or self-forgetfulness. Crowded as the fair was with strangers as well as natives, this speaks in honour, not only of the Protestant community, in the midst of whom it was held, but of all whom it congregated together.

I should have liked to have seen that festival, which was formerly the pride of the Vaudois, the Tirata, or exercise of the rifle; when the men of the valleys, young and old, tried their skill, by



shooting at a mark, and kept up the sport in the true spirit of emulation and nationality. Far from defending its practice on a Sunday, as was usually the custom, I yet lament its total discontinuance, and cannot understand the policy of a government, which looks with jealous eye upon the martial pursuits of that part of its population, which is on the frontier of France, and holds some of the most important passes on the borders. The Waldenses have always been a warlike tribe, and though they have resisted the unrighteous aggressions of their sovereigns upon their religious and personal liberties, they have ever been distinguished as faithful subjects, attached to the old dynasty, and utterly unwilling to countenance invasion from abroad, or revolt at home.

Had the Protestants of the Alps flashed a gun, as a signal of their readiness to join the malcontents in 1821, there would have been an end of the reigning branch of the House of Savoy. The constitutionalists at Turin and Genoa, and the insurgent regiments at Alexandria, supported by the hardy mountaineers and unerring marksmen of the three valleys, could not have been put down. But the Vaudois would not embrace the favourable opportunity of redressing their grievances: they are loyal upon principle, they are obedient to the powers that be, from high motives of religious duty, and they once more gave occasion to their ungrateful rulers, to applaud them

as " Nostri ben diletti, e fideli sudditi delle Valli," " Our well-beloved and faithful subjects of the valleys;" and to try again the extent of their forbearance and submission, by the imposition of new and more galling vexations. The principal fortress, upon the extensive line of border between Mont Cenis and Mont Viso, is Fenestrelle. This and the passes of Mont Genevre, and of the Col de la Croix, as well as that across Mont Viso, by which Francis the First descended into Piemont, are completely within the grasp of the Vaudois. The fortress of Fenestrelle might defy a besieging army for months; but the martial peasantry, who live in its vicinity, and who know every approach that leads to it, and every stone upon its walls, who have constant opportunities of telling the towers thereof, and marking well its bulwarks, might assemble from the three valleys in a single night, and make themselves masters of it, before even their intentions could be known. And what is to prevent their doing so, and throwing this key of Piemont and themselves into the arms of the French, should they be so disposed, in case of a rupture between France and the king of Sardinia, should the latter continue to act towards them upon his present narrow policy?

It is quite astonishing that a race, so faithful to their princes from religious principle, and so important to them from their frontier position, should be so little valued and trusted. Their

favourite amusement, the tirata, has been virtually prohibited. The government has not said, you shall no longer have your fête days, and fire at your targets, and crown the victor, and carry him in procession with music and shouts, but it has so shackled the sport with expensive regulations and vexatious accompaniments, that it is gradually becoming obsolete. Leave must first be obtained of the commandant of Pinerolo; then there must be the presence of an officer, and a certain number of carabineers, under pretence of keeping order, where it never was known that order was disturbed, or that a single quarrel, or act of drunkenness or misconduct had occurred. Add to this, the charge upon the quantity of gunpowder expended, and the cost attendant upon the necessary formalities, and it will be clear enough, that there is nearly an end of the tirata. There is scarcely a cottage or a hovel, whose owner is master of a gun, which does not display a block of wood, of the size and resemblance of a Stilton cheese, which has served as a mark, and yet contains a ball in or near its centre, as a proud memorial of the skill of one of the family. I have delighted many a peasant by noticing this trophy of unerring aim, and by asking the history of the triumphant day in which the prize was won. And this is the generous race who are treated with worse than neglect, because a Jesuit at court, or a royal confessor, can whisper into the ear of majesty, that

they are rebels against the authority of—the bishop of Rome.

An historian of indefatigable research, and who is therefore inexcusable for his misrepresentations upon this subject, has lately added one more to the serviles of the Latin Church, who have spoken of the Vaudois in the language of a Dominican. "About the middle of the thirteenth century," says he, "the peculiar doctrines of the 'poor men of Lyons' penetrated into the valleys of Piemont, where they were cherished in obscurity till the time of the Reformation, and were then exchanged in a great measure for the creed publicly taught at Geneva." This writer is thoroughly aware, for the bulls of the Bishops of his own Church (few of which can have escaped his enquiring and penetrating eye) have informed him, that at the beginning of the eleventh century, these peculiar doctrines were making Popes and Prelates tremble for their authority, and that Piemont was their seat of long and deep-rooted establishment. He knows too, much better than any writer of the Reformed Church can tell him, for he has access to documents which we have not, that those doctrines, though they were "cherished in obscurity" till the time of the Reformation, were the cause of martyrdom to thousands and tens of thousands, who were destroyed by fire and sword at the command of the Clements, and Innocents, and Benedicts of the Vatican, who

blessed those who cursed them, and absolved those from all sin who slew them. He knows, for he has read it in the memorable "bull of Innocent VIII., for the extirpation of the Waldenses," which is cited at length in two of the books, which he professes in his marginal notes to have consulted, that the doctrines which he affects to call *obscure* till the time of the Reformation, were "publicly preached" in Piemont "long ago"—long before Luther or Calvin were born. Did he not know also, when he spoke of an event, which he terms one "which by Protestants has been called the massacre, by Catholics the rebellion, of the Vaudois," that the Vaudois never acted on that, or any other occasion, but upon the defensive; that they never advanced, under a hostile banner, to dispute the supreme authority of their rulers in any matters but those of conscience, and that they never took up arms but in vindication of rights and privileges, which were guaranteed to them under the most solemn compacts? "We will submit in every thing, but in acts of religious apostacy—we will obey you in all things, where we can reconcile our duty towards our God, and our duty to you." This has ever been the language of the Vaudois to their princes; and when the historian of whom I complain, stained his pages by his ungenerous and unnecessary imputations, no man had better opportunities than himself of ascertaining that the Vaudois

have been driven by despair to repel aggression, but have never committed the crime of rebellion [1].

The heat was so great, and there was so much to keep our attention engaged, during the whole of the second week after our arrival at La Torre, that we made no distant excursions: but the evening walks, in which we indulged, were as delicious as brilliant weather, and all the combinations of rural and pastoral scenery could make them. Two strolls in particular have left an agreeable impression, which not even the grander character of the higher valleys can efface. The one, through the vineyards and corn-fields of San Giovanni to the house of M. Meille, the late pastor of San Giovanni; and the other, to the presbytery of Angrogna, and to the shady groves of magnificent walnuts and chesnuts in its vicinity.

M. Meille has won the heart, and rivetted the esteem of every stranger who has visited him. From the Count Waldbourg Truckses, (whose long residence at the court of Turin, as Prussian envoy, gave him frequent opportunities of studying the Vaudois character, and whose patronage of the Vaudois is honourable both to himself and to them,) to the humblest pilgrim, who has made his acquaintance, and written or spoken [illegible] M. Meille has been an object of equal [illegible] That warm devotional feeling, which [illegible]

[1] See Lingard's England, vol. xi.

thought, may be looked for in vain among the generality even of those, who have the reputation of it, has not been disputed in the person of this minister. It is certainly impossible to converse with him, without bringing away the conviction that you have been talking with one, whose whole soul is under the influence of vital religion. The loss of an only son has manifestly been sanctified to him: but though the lines of a wounded spirit are traced broadly in his countenance, there are no marks of a broken heart, or of a mind which is soured, or rendered austere by the affliction. His face beams with benignity—his manner is tranquil and winning in the extreme. It was observed of him by one traveller, "He has all the tournure of the ancient Moravians—he is not far from the kingdom of God." He lives upon his own property, which perhaps is larger than often falls to the lot of a Waldensian pastor. His house, a well-built, and substantial habitation, stands in the rich plain of San Giovanni, and commands a view of the imposing heights, which rise above Angrogna, Luserna, and La Torre. It is not exaggeration to call it a paradise, occupied by a patriarch. This good man dwells among his own people, and, having surrendered the charge of a large parish, his time is principally employed in superintending the cultivation of his vines and corn, and pasture lands, and in that humble preparation for another state of existence, to which the husbandman's

simple life, and the mountaineer's contemplations are well adapted.

M. Meille was among the number of those to whom I submitted my projects, before I made them known to the Vaudois pastors at large.

After the smiling and open vale of San Giovanni, which throws out almost every production of the Italian soil in the richest luxuriance; where the soil yields at three different heights, corn below, grapes between, and mulberries above; where the reapers are shaded from the sun by the broad leaves of the vine, latticed along the trees, and disposed in the most graceful festoons over their heads, and where the rills, and streamlets of artificial irrigation, preserve freshness and verdure in the meadows, even in a burning summer, the hamlets of Angrogna offer contrasts of another kind. Here the bold acclivities, the rushing waters, and the sylvan glories of the scenery, among which the cottages of Chabrazza, Seringa, and San Laurent are constructed, prepare you for what you are to expect, when you ascend to the more elevated regions of this commune, which, commencing where the softer features of San Giovanni end, break off by degrees into the wild and rugged points of La Vachera, Cella Veglia, and the Seiran Alp.

Angrogna lies more to the north than La Torre and San Giovanni, and extends along a valley famous in Waldensian history. The presbytery of the pastor of Angrogna is in the hamlet

of San Laurent, at no great distance from his church. We were not expected, and as we approached, we were joined by a few of the pastor's neighbours, whom the loveliness of the evening had drawn out, and who swelled the party into a company rather too large, we thought, both for his apartments, and for his supper-board. The former objection was soon remedied. M. Peyrot, with the philosophy of a peripatetic, invited us to take a ramble with him, and with the usual irresistible propensity of a descendant of a long line of Waldensian champions, talked of former achievements as he conducted us to defiles, which his countrymen had well defended, or to spots where the blood of the slaughtered had left a damning stain, in the memory at least, which never can be effaced. Not that he chose these scenes; but what part of Angrogna is without them? He led us to the brink of a tremendous looking precipice, which still goes by the name of the Roche Simon, from the miserable death which was there inflicted upon an aged victim of fanatical cruelty. In the massacre of 1655, Pietro Simondi refused to go to mass. He was eighty years old, and he mildly appealed to the oppressors: "Would you," said he, "when I have exceeded the age of man by ten years—would you think the better of me, for purchasing a few months' longer existence by an act of apostacy? Would you think a trembling convert like myself worth having? My forced re-

cantation can add nothing to your cause." Proselyting zeal, however, was too fervent to listen to reason. The old man was brought to this rock, and flung from its top. Unhappily for him, a tree upon a projecting ridge caught him, and he remained suspended on its branches, beyond the reach of help, till death relieved him from his lingering and terrific punishment.

We saw but little of Angrogna on this occasion: but we saw and heard enough to desire to devote a day at least to exploring its venerable, and storied barricades, and we agreed to take the first opportunity of ascending its mountain paths, and penetrating the recesses of rock and forest, where the youthful Waldenses were taught to cherish the faith of their ancestors—and where the manly forms of hardy, but half-armed, peasants stood the shock of the mailed chivalry of France and Piemont.

On our return to the presbytery, we enjoyed a repast which Apicius would have praised, had he been prepared for it by such a walk as we had. Fruit in abundance, baked cakes, not unlike the girdle cakes of the north of England, curds, and the sausage of Pinerolo, sent us home as well pleased with the good cheer, as with the legendary lore of our host. A young lady from Geneva, Mademoiselle Robin, was one of the visitors to Angrogna, and seemed to enjoy the excursion and the evening, as much as she added to it.

wit and good humour. On our way home we met a band of young Roman Catholics on the bridge of La Torre, who were practising the Vespers hymn. At the same moment myriads of fire-flies were flitting in the air, and lending their not feeble aid to give the finishing effect to our evening's recreation.

The pastor of Angrogna has two churches under his charge, at which he officiates every Sunday; the one at San Laurent, the other at Serre, higher up the valley. Both churches are in wretched condition, particularly the latter, and it requires no small degree of attention to the interests of religion, to keep this Protestant commune up to the standard of its former reputation. There is an active proselyting Romish priest in the parish, who exerts himself to the utmost to diminish the Vaudois flock, and to increase his own. He spares no arts to attain his object; he has recourse to vexatious expedients to harass the pastor and his congregation; he lays complaints against them for alleged transgressions of the penal statutes;—he watches narrowly to see that no work is done on the festivals of the Roman calendar; he marshals processions, and leads them round the Protestant temple during hours of service, singing and vociferating to the interruption of the pastor, who is sometimes forced to stop for ten minutes together, till the noisy crowd has passed.

The number of Protestants in Angrogna is about

2,100. The Romanists amount to five hundred. The central school is situated near the temple, and is open ten months during the year; besides which there are thirteen small schools, containing from fifteen to sixty scholars each, open about four months in the twelve. Mr. Sims has instituted a girls' school in this parish, which has been of such essential service, in directing the attention of the inhabitants to the importance of an improved system of female education, that it is greatly to be hoped it will be continued. In the summer, the pastor frequently preaches to the shepherds and others of his people, who watch their flocks and herds upon the green ridges of the Seiran and Infernet Alps.

A very cursory view, or enquiry, will shew the great difference between the highly favoured San Giovanni, and its neighbouring commune Angrogna. The former is not only the wealthiest village in possession of the Waldenses, but it is also the best situated for all the purposes of pastoral duty. Lying in the plain, its land is of the very finest quality; its hamlets are at no great distance from each other, and its roads and paths in the best condition. Add to this, its population is almost entirely Protestant. Out of 1650 souls, there are not more than six or seven Roman Catholic families. The contiguity of the hamlets of San Giovanni renders fewer schools necessary to this parish, than to any other. There is one

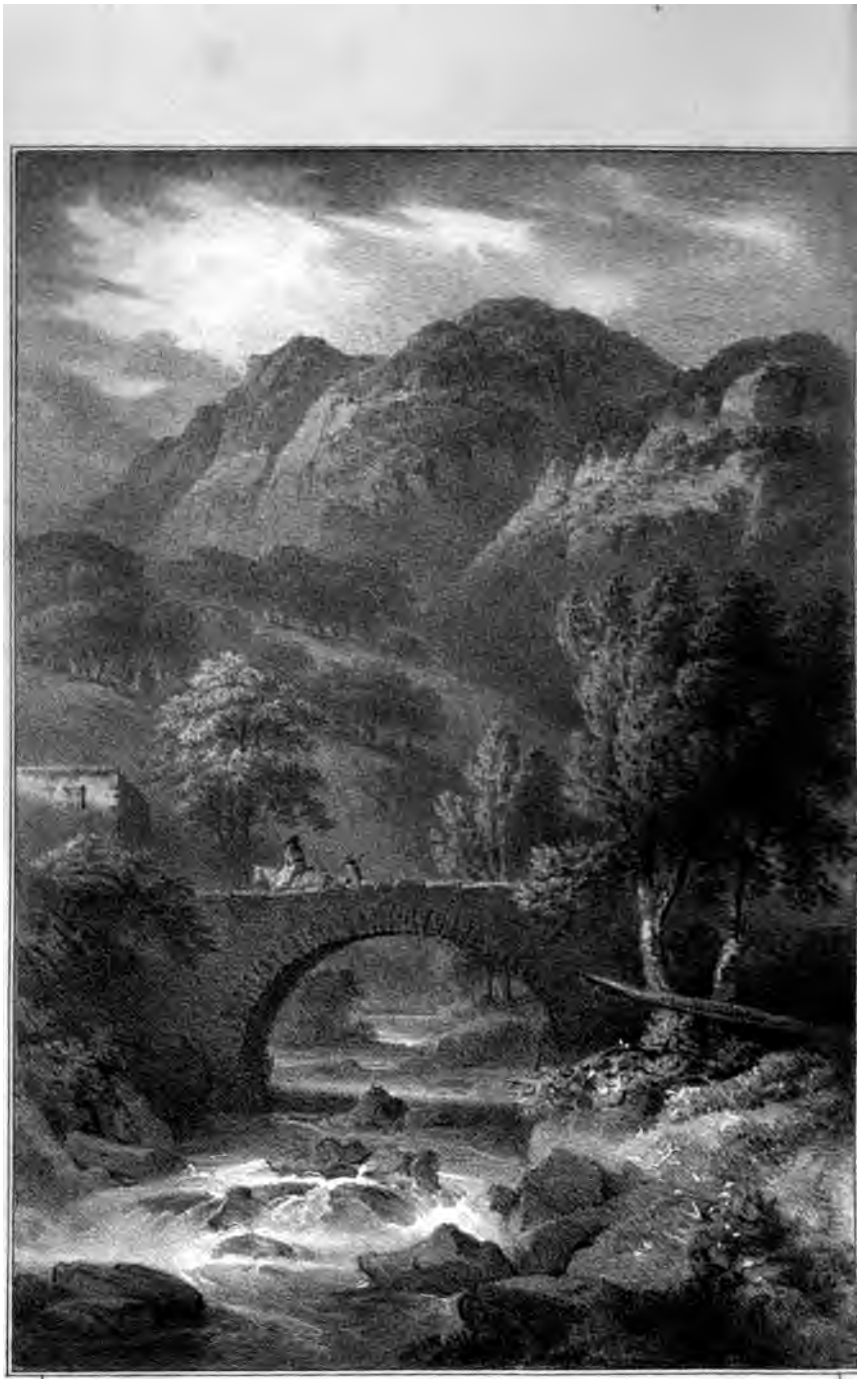
central, and only four small schools; but these are so conveniently situated, that the pastor assured me, he did not know of a single child belonging to his congregation, who had reached the age of six, without being placed under a course of education. The girls' school in this commune, established by the London Committee, is one of the most interesting and promising institutions of its kind. I shall have great pleasure in speaking of it more at length, when I come to this part of my subject.

San Giovanni is the extreme village of the Vaudois on the Turin side of the valley of Luserna, and therefore more exposed to aggression and temptation than any other. Its situation is such, that it will not admit of being placed within the lines in a defensive point of view, and therefore we do not find that it ever occupied an important place in the military history of the Vaudois. The later edicts of the princes of Piemont, and dukes of Savoy, have denied its claim to be considered one of the privileged communes of the ancient Waldenses. How then has it maintained its religious integrity, and continued its name and character of Vaudois up to the present hour? Humanly speaking, there is but one way of solving the question. Persecution and intolerance quicken and exasperate religious ardour, and determined spirits are rendered more resolute by opposition.

The inhabitants of San Giovanni have ever been exposed to the first brunt of hostilities. The sword of the crusaders, who have marched against the valleys at the war-whoop of Rome, has always been first dipped in the blood of this devoted population. The incendiaries flung their torches into the habitations of this exposed village, and burnt them to the ground, as the beginning of atrocities. The remnant of the sufferers, having no chance of defending themselves, unless against the vanguard of their enemies, were obliged to fly to the remoter asylums of their brethren, and carried with them the remembrance of their flaming dwellings, their ravaged fields, and slaughtered wives and children. They were forbidden to have a church, or to hold public religious assemblies; they met together in secret, with zeal increased a hundred-fold. Schools were prohibited: they instructed their children at home, and every hearth was an altar, where the youth of San Giovanni were taught to swear eternal hatred of apostates and apostasy. To this day, their church and their schools are suffered rather than permitted; witness the screen before the door of the temple, erected by themselves, as the only condition upon which the government would consent to wink at that, which is pronounced to be a violation of the edict against building any Protestant churches beyond the boundaries. (See Chap. IX.) But all the enmity and the power of the *parti-pretre*, could

not separate the people of San Giovanni from their legitimate and ancient connection with the primitive Church of the Alps; and as they were near to the strong holds of Angrogna and Vandelin, they fled from the storms that threatened them, and returned, when the tempest was over, more inveterate recusants than ever.

I do not like to pronounce upon the sort of faith or religious perseverance, which is nursed in war, and kept alive by animosities. It may partake too much of the spirit which endeavours to put it down. It must indeed lose in meekness what it gains by conflict; and when the fiercer and more angry passions have been kept continually upon the jar, as they have been by the oppressions and vexations practised against the inhabitants of San Giovanni, Christianity is not likely to assume its mildest or purest form. Great reason, therefore, have the admirers and well-wishers of the Vaudois to look with pity upon the blemishes, which they may occasionally discern in the white shield of the valleys, and they should assist in washing them out, and not turn away in disgust or disappointment from that, which is inseparable from their present condition and past history.



BRIDGE IN THE HAMLET OF S^T MARGARITA.

...m Stone by F. Nicholson Printed by Engelmann & Co. From a Sketch by M^r ...

CHAPTER V.

Excursion to Tagliaretta, and an attempt to explore the Cavern of Castelluzzo.

July 6. A REFRESHING morning, and a clear atmosphere, enticed us to make the attempt of exploring the rocks of Castelluzzo, in search of the celebrated cavern, which, according to Leger, afforded an asylum to three or four hundred Vaudois, during one of the rifest periods of persecution. Its situation is described as being so peculiarly favourable to the purpose, that one only can enter it at a time, and yet it is spacious enough in its interior to receive abundant supplies, besides having the farther advantage of containing a spring of water of its own. A peasant, named Grant, who accompanied Mr. Acland in his fatiguing, and often hazardous adventures in the mountains, undertook to be our guide to the spot, and we set out five in party, Mrs. Gilly on a pony, which was to carry her as far as the ascent would permit, my brother, M. Amadée Bert, the guide, and myself. To the eye, Castelluzzo was not far off, though

its cliffs appeared at an elevation which it would be aspiring to reach; but it required double the time, which we calculated would be sufficient for the excursion: so deceptive are all mountain distances. The cool fragrance of the air, and the natural beauty and romance of the scenery, would not suffer us to give a moment's admission to any apprehensions that the endeavour to attain the ridge of the cliff might be too much for unpractised lowlanders. In vain did our friends assure us, that when the sun should be well up, we should repent of our undertaking, and abandon it in despair. We trusted to the shade of the groves which covered the mountain side, and commenced the journey in high spirits and expectation.

Our path lay in the direction of the Biglione torrent, which, in spring and autumn, pours down its impetuous flood from Vandelin to the Pelice, but at this season had not much water. A profusion of gigantic walnuts and chesnuts stretched their branches over its broken and rocky bed, and, for the first hour, we had no great reason to complain either of the abruptness, or ruggedness of the ascent. The slopes were beautifully coloured with corn in various stages of ripeness, for, in these regions, a quarter of an hour's walk will bring you to spots, where, from the difference of soil and situation, the grain is here of a bright golden hue, and there as green as the foliage which waves above it. The scattered cottages had

not only clusters of grapes hanging about the roofs and eaves, but had also each its little vineyard and orchard by its side, where the vine was not of the dwarfish species like that of France, but clambered from tree to tree. The depths and solitude of the groves were broken by these objects rising unexpectedly upon the sight, and were echoing moreover with the songs of birds, and presenting, to the fancy at least, enchanting images of rustic enjoyment in the midst of that, which, at a distance, looked like one vast forest, bordered by a crest of rock. Alas, that these scenes should have witnessed so much contention and suffering!

When we approached towards Tagliaretta, the steeps became rough and threatening; more like a succession of terraces, which can only be surmounted by scrambling over fragments of stone, or by winding your way circuitously by that which resembles a stair-case more than a path. The motion of the pony became here so uneasy, from his having to step over and up such rugged ground, that Mrs. Gilly begged to walk; but the guide assured her, that unless she consented to break the journey, by riding as far as it was safe, it was impossible that she could encounter the fatigue and the heat of the day. After arriving at Tagliaretta, we were on land in which every foot had been the scene of action, of sanguinary conflict, of daring enterprises, surprisals, assaults, and defences. This hamlet, with Puy-Castel, Rua,

Kiavoula, Costa Rossina, and Mananda, all of which find a place in the old maps of Leger and Morland, and in the very accurate new map, which Mr. Acland designed for his translation of Henri Arnaud's "Rentrée Glorieuse des Vaudois," (and which could not have been drawn but by one well acquainted with the localities of the country) constituted what was formerly called the commune of Tagliaretta, the holy ground of La Torre.

At different periods of Waldensian history, when the courts of Turin and Rome determined to make new efforts to extinguish the light of truth, there used to issue edicts, from time to time, which not only forbade the exercise of any religion but that of the Latin Church, except among the remote craggs and thickets of the higher valleys, of the valleys within the valleys, but commanded mass to be celebrated in the lower districts. The people of those parts naturally protested against such an invasion of their rights, and pleaded the validity of solemn treaties and ancient compacts. Sometimes their remonstrances were heard, but when evil counsels prevailed, then the mandate was peremptory, and the troops of the duchy of Savoy were quartered in the main villages to enforce the papal will. It is not without reason, that I have so often ascribed the sufferings of the Waldensian Church to aggressions instigated by the evil genius of Rome. There is scarcely an instance, in which the stern contests, or holy wars, into which the

Vaudois were forced, did not grow out of the seeds of evil, out of the dragon's teeth, sown by cardinal legates and nuncios, delegated by the popes to stir up the wrath of the dukes of Savoy against the recusants of the valleys. Let the reader, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, reflect upon the tendency of this one specimen of the numerous edicts in my possession, and I shall not be accused of doing wrong to the Church of Rome, when I affirm, that the lintels of the Vatican are sprinkled with the blood of every Vaudois, who died in defence of his religion. "Charles Emanuel, by the grace of God, duke of Savoy, prince of Piemont, &c. In conformity with the brief published by his holiness, our Lord, Pope Gregory XV. and with our desire to promote the sacred wishes of his Holiness, we command," &c. Then follows one of those penal enactments, which drove unhappy men to desperation, and converted scenes of peace into an arena of frightful conflict.

Away went the inhabitants of the vale to the mountain asylums. Ready to sacrifice all but their religious integrity,—they fled from their houses rather than go to mass, and left their pleasant homes in possession of the soldiery.

So long as the troops found plunder enough in the deserted houses and fields to satiate their rapacity, the fugitives were left unmolested to share the scanty supply, which their brethren of

the upper hamlets divided with them. But when no booty was left to keep them in good humour, they would then scatter themselves in small bands, and make predatory incursions with all the licentiousness of brigands, and seek for plunder in places, which were intended to be exempt from their molestation. So dreaded were these marauders, that even the Roman Catholic families sent their daughters to the mountain hamlets of the Protestants for protection. The unoffending natives of those hamlets naturally considered that they were justified in resisting such aggression. But their conduct was misrepresented at Turin: they were accused of opposing the troops in the exercise of their duty, of not respecting the royal standard and the forces of their liege lord.

Then came some ruthless ordinance which drove them to despair: they were commanded to deliver up all their children to be baptized by the Romish clergy—to surrender the heads of families as hostages—to demolish their churches, (the furious edict of the year 1624, commanded the instant destruction of six churches, those of Villar, Pramol, and San Germano, among the number,)—to receive the troops at free quarters, even in the most impoverished hamlets on the Alpine ridges. Before the order could well be published, the soldiers were in full march towards the quarters which had generally been respected: whether they were come to kill and to take pos-

session, or what were their intentions, was scarcely understood. The presence of an unpitying enemy, advancing towards their last retreats, produced desperate resolutions of self-defence; and the wretched peasants found themselves driven to the last resource of the oppressed, and man stood by man, in the front of some narrow pass, to drive the spoiler from his prey.

It was thus that loyal subjects were forced into conflict with the troops of their sovereign, and that a fierce, and unsparing, guerilla warfare began to rage between the peasantry of the mountains, and the trained militia of the principality, headed by the best commanders of the day.

But the question naturally arises, how could half-armed, and ignoble peasants, surrounded on all sides by hosts of fighting men, renowned throughout Europe as the infantry of Piemont, how could they maintain their ground against such fearful odds, and why is it that the Church of the Valleys has not long ago been blotted out from the face of the earth? The Vaudois had no fortresses into which they might retire when hard pressed; no magazines, no walled towns, no castles bristling with cannon; they had no military leaders, who were men of war from their youth, and schooled in the rules and stratagems of war; they had no nobles, or feudal barons, under whose chieftainship they might be enrolled, and whose personal influence could keep them

together, and direct their counsels. There was neither rank, nor rewards of price or distinction to stimulate them to enterprise, and to give one man a place of eminence among his fellows; no, not a stimulant was there, to which the aspiring combatant looks, who is moved by the ordinary considerations which make the hero. And yet these were the men, who jeoparded their lives unto the death in the high places of the field, and offered themselves willingly for the people. Again and again did the fiat go forth for their utter destruction. It was no relenting, nor want of inclination, nor tender mercy on the part of their enemies, that they were not destroyed; witness the *sixty-eight* enactments which were put in force against them, between the years 1561 and 1686: which were intended to exterminate, and which did waste and reduce them. It was the avowed object, the professed intention, the impious plot to eradicate them. "Wishing by every means in our power to eradicate, to bury the heresy"—"In our zeal for the Holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith, desiring to pluck up the tares"—so ran the edicts, and such was the intention. Why, then, was it not carried into effect? How could a handful of mountaineers escape from the vengeance, that threatened their total overthrow, and which achieved the downfall of their brethren in other parts? Because it was the will of God, that they should be left as a rem-

nant—because it was written in the counsels of heaven, that they should continue as a miracle of Divine Grace and Providence.

Blind must he be, who does not discern the finger of God in the preservation of the Vaudois. There is nothing like it in the history of man. The tempest of persecution has raged against them for seven hundred years, and yet it has not swept them away, but there they are in the land of their forefathers; because the Most High gave unto the men of the valleys stout hearts and a resolute spirit,—because he made them patient of hunger and thirst, and nakedness, and all manner of affliction.

It was a natural wish to desire to see the strong holds, and the mountain-keeps, which the Almighty permitted to become scenes of defeat to the mighty men of valour, who were commanded to go up to the battle, and to slay "the people of the Lord." When I saw the field of contention, and remembered the material of which the adverse parties was composed, I had no difficulty in believing the extraordinary tales, which are told of victories gained under circumstances, which almost realised the Scriptural promise,—"five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight, and your enemies shall fall before you by the sword. And the sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them, and they shall

flee, as fleeing from a sword, and they shall fall when none pursueth."

When once the enemy diverged from the roads in the lower part of the valley, and mounted the acclivities, nothing like regularity could be preserved in their line of march. They had to make their way over broken ground as well as they could; each man, at places, depending upon his own agility and presence of mind, for the means of extricating himself from the perils of torrents and precipices. Every facility was afforded for interruption, and none for progress. Many of the assailants were unused to mountain combats, and all of them impeded rather than assisted by the rules of regular warfare. They were embarrassed by the impossibility of keeping in their ranks, of supporting or being supported by their comrades. An ambuscade was ready to receive them in every thicket, by peasants who understood every kind of furtive annoyance. If they crossed a ravine, they were assailed from above by all sorts of missiles. If they arrived at a defile, or narrow pass, the hardy few who defended it, prompt at shifting their ground, had nothing to do but to dispute their advance, as long as their strength was equal to the struggle, and then to retreat and rally at the next spot, which they considered more defensible. When the troops attempted to push boldly up a slippery steep, they were attacked

with stones set in motion by the slightest touch, and rolling every thing before them. After they had scaled one height, they found, to their dismay, that a succession of such impediments had to be surmounted: no level gained, no position occupied, put an end to their toils. The peasantry, if forced to yield one point, instantly made for another, and the weary pursuer discovered that his strength and his spirits were exhausted, without having any thing more to boast of, as the price of his toils, than a few hovels, which had already been abandoned by their inhabitants, and ransacked of their miserable contents. In fact, the mountaineer in his wild mode of warfare, relinquishes his post the moment he finds it untenable, and then leads his foe a wearisome chase from ridge to ridge, till whole battalions are disorganised, and reduced to the necessity of retreating, or of continuing the contest with the certainty of defeat.

To the nature of these localities, all in favour of the defenders of the soil, we must add the manner in which the assailants were armed. It was during the seventeeth century, and part of the sixteenth, that our Subalpines so often repulsed the élite of Piemont, and, at that period, regular troops were so encumbered by the offensive and defensive weapons which they bore, that it was quite impossible that their movements could be made with any degree of celerity. Imagine a body of men clambering up a rugged eminence, themselves

accoutred in like manner, or led by an officer equipped after the fashion of the Ritt-master Dugald Dalgetty; with buff coat and jack-boots, steel back and breast-plate, plate sleeves, and head-piece; and armed, not with the light bayonet and firelock of the present day, but with the ponderous arquebuss, the awkward matchlock and caliver, and their necessary accompaniments the match, the bandileer, and the rest. Every discharge of their cumbrous pieces must have been the work of time, even on level ground; but when they came to be impeded by up-hill difficulties, their advance could have carried but very little terror to an unencumbered peasantry, who could make deadly use, from their places of concealment, of the very weapons, which were all but unserviceable in the hands of troops, scrambling over broken ground, and fainting under the weight of that which they had to carry. The dropping fire, first from one quarter, then from another, and every shot telling, and multiplied by the echoes of the mountain, carried terror to the hearts of the bravest. In vain they raised their voices to encourage one another, and shouted for the battle: if a momentary triumph appeared to exhilarate them, and the mountaineers fled before them, it was but to draw them into some ambuscade; to lead them breathless, and in broken order, to some narrow and precarious defile, on the edge of a precipice, when the fugitives would turn round upon

heir pursuers, and man grappling man, would nake the welkin ring with the yells of terrified vretches, tumbling into the gulfs below, or flying n confusion from the fate of their companions. t was then that the work of death began. None ould rally the troops when once they turned their acks in flight. The agile mountaineers had nohing to do but to pursue and to slay; and who an wonder if a frightful vengeance was wreaked ıpon the aggressors?

Thus even the flower of veteran armies, which oasted of having been led to victory against the hivalry of France and Germany in the plains of ombardy, were discomfited by hunters of the lps, and by shepherds and goatherds, who beieved that God was with them, and who left their heepfolds, and the bleatings of their flocks, to enounter the perils of battle, rather than surrender heir personal and religious rights. Harassed by narchings and counter-marchings, the troops and heir commanders became weary and disgusted vith the service. The counsellors of the prince gladly sought for some plea, upon which they night extricate their sovereign and his captains rom a disgraceful conflict; and then they remembered, that leagues, and treaties of the most binding nature, guaranteed to the Vaudois the uninterupted possession of their valleys, and the free exercise of their religion. The forces were consequently recalled, old privileges were ratified,

sacred rights were recognised, and the Waldensian Church had rest,—till fresh orders came from Rome to vex it.

From the hamlet of Tagliaretta, we descended into a deep ravine, and then mounted again towards Kiavoula and Rua. From the latter, where we were obliged to leave the pony, we had a fine view of the mountain pasturages of La Cea, which at this time were full of cattle. After resting ourselves, for about half an hour at a chalet, and enjoying the refreshment of some rich milk and cream, we again crossed a ravine of considerable depth, and then commenced the more arduous task of climbing the rocks of Castelluzzo. Hitherto we had been in the midst of cultivation of some sort, and though we occasionally traversed tracts, which man had not yet been able to subdue beneath the spade or the hoe, the soil was for the most part productive of something; but now the scene changed entirely, and, without a tree to shade us, we toiled up a rocky acclivity under a scorching sun, and upon a burning surface. This steep was closed in by a cliff, which rose almost perpendicularly from its base, and terminated in that tower-like summit, which has therefore obtained the name of Castelluzzo; but though we strained our eyes to discern the means by which we were to proceed, we discovered none, until we arrived close to it. We then perceived a narrow ledge, projecting from the face of the rock, but

only broad enough to admit one at a time to ascend by its dizzy path, and overhanging the depth below. This was formidable—and we enquired of our guide with no little anxiety, if this were the only approach to the place of which we were in quest. Grant assured us, that by this we must continue our route, or retrace our steps, and return home. It was one of those Alpine path-ways, by which the peasants of Tagliaretta and Bonetti had often eluded their adversaries: for woe be to the fool-hardy pursuer, who would venture to plant his foot on this track, with an enemy in his front, or above him, resolved upon disputing the passage.

We ascended in perfect safety. The guide led the way—my brother followed. My wife held fast by a leathern belt which was round my waist. Mr. Amadée Bert brought up the rear; and glad enough were we, when we had cleared the ledge. Again we had to clamber up another height, or rapid slope. Mont Vandelin was to our right, and on the craggs, which overhung our line of march, we saw goats peeping down upon us, as if curious to know what we wanted by invading their aerial domains. This part of the ascent was fatiguing, but not at all dangerous. But the heat of the day was by this time intolerable, and we were all almost expiring under thirst, and the glare of the sun reflected from the masses of rock, by which we were surrounded. We had

brought no water with us, for Grant had promised us, that we should find a spring at the very point which we had now attained. The disappointment was too great to be described, when we reached the spot, and found the fountain dry!

Again we toiled on towards the ridge that soared above, and never shall I forget the bright vision that burst upon us, when we attained it. As if by magic, the arid and stony surface, over which we had been dragging our weary steps, was succeeded by one of those verdant pasturages of the Alps, which the crest of the mountain concealed from our view; in fact, we had scaled the rampart, and were at once transported to an amphitheatre of rich grass, on the western side of the ridge. Cows and sheep were grazing round their keepers; the lowing of the cattle, and the voices of men and boys, greeted our ears; and for a moment we forgot our thirst and fatigue, in the charming prospect that broke so suddenly upon us.

When we made our wants known to the shepherds, they went in search of another spring, in one of the cliffs of Mont Vandelin. It was at some distance, and we waited impatiently for their return. But again we were disappointed. This supply had also failed, and we were almost in despair. The cows, which were depastured here, were not in milk; but one of the boys bethought him of an expedient to relieve us. He set up a loud shout, and made the surrounding mountains

echo with his shrill and prolonged notes. Presently we saw goats dashing down the steeps, and galloping towards us in all directions. It was the boy's shaggy flock, which, faithful to his voice, obeyed the well-known summons, and soon filled our leathern cups with their milk. The beverage was not such as to quench our thirst, but it allayed it; and never was there a more grateful supply. Seated on the green sward, we shared the contents of our basket with the boy and his companions, who had so kindly volunteered their assistance; and after reposing for about an hour, and amusing ourselves with the conversation of these children of nature, we proceeded in search of the memorable cavern.

But I must not omit to mention the interest we took in questioning the boys as to the religious instruction which they had received. They were about fifteen or sixteen years of age, and had been in the habit of attending the hamlet and central schools. Their answers were accurate and satisfactory; and they stated that it was so arranged among themselves, that although the greater part of the summer was spent among their cattle on this mountain, or in the chalets near at hand, yet they seldom absented themselves from church two Sundays together, but took it by turns, in their families, to descend to the vale below at the hour of public service. Their appearance was as wild and uncouth as imagination

can paint, but there was nothing rude in their curiosity at the sight of strangers, or shy or awkward in their manner of accosting or replying to us. They presented a striking contrast with the clownishness of the peasant boys of our own country.

We had taken Castelluzzo in reverse by a circuitous path, and notwithstanding the assurances of our guide, that this was the right way to approach the spot, where we might expect to find the cavern, yet I entertained doubts of our success. Most of my informants had described it, as far as tradition enabled men to form an opinion of its situation, as being half way down the perpendicular face of Castelluzzo, as it is seen from the road between La Torre and Villar, and overhanging the hamlets of Bonetti and Chabriole. We were now much above this supposed site, and far at the back of it. Grant's notion was, that somewhere near the pasturage, where we had taken our refreshment, we should discover a communication, which would lead down to the cavern. The shepherds confirmed this idea, and conducted us to an opening in the rock, which had every appearance of a subterraneous passage, descending into the bowels of the mountain; and it answered in part to Leger's representation of an entrance, which would admit one person only at a time. One of the boys entered first with a lamp, which we had brought for the purpose. The opening

was not unlike the mouth of a well, which had broken in, and at the depth of about six feet, there was an horizontal passage, about three feet wide, which had a gentle inclination downwards. My brother and I followed the boy one after the other, but we soon came to some obstruction in the natural formation of the rock, or occasioned by the falling in of large blocks from above, which prevented our further progress.

After making every attempt to discover another passage, we gave up all hope of finding an entrance to the cavern from this quarter; indeed, I am persuaded that it could not have been here, for the spot would have been betrayed at once, being concealed neither by a thicket, nor by crags, but manifesting itself by its yawning mouth.

But though the disappointment was vexatious, in not finding any trace of that which we were seeking, yet the glorious prospects around much more than repaid us for the fatigue of the day. The shepherds assisted us in climbing to the highest point of Castelluzzo; it was a calm still afternoon when we reached it; the heat of the day had somewhat subsided, and there was not that flickering and dazzling haze in the atmosphere, which often embarrasses the sight in sultry weather. Seated upon the pinnacle of the rock, which commands a view of the whole valley, both above and below La Torre, we gazed on the enchanting scene, first with inexpressible rapture, and afterwards with

those sensations of littleness and inferiority, to which no man can be insensible, who finds himself in the midst of the vast, the spacious, and the enduring. Our eyes wandered, on one side, over the plains of Piemont to those of Lombardy, faintly discerned in the distance. Turin was plainly marked on the map before us, and the marble front of the Superga glittered under the rays of the western sun. The Po was seen winding his course towards the north-east, and receiving the waters of many of his tributary streams and torrents. We could distinguish nearly the whole line of Vaudois territory towards the plain, and many of the towns and villages which once were Protestant, but have since been forced into conformity with Rome. Looking over the Marquisate of Saluzzo[1], it was melancholy to behold Cavour, and Paesana, and Barge, and Campiglione, and Fenile, and Bubiana, and the rich vales which formerly added their numerous population to the Waldensian Church, now reduced, like each of these towns seen in the distance, to a speck upon the earth.

[1] Several edicts of the years 1602-3, describe the Marquisate of Saluzzo, as peopled in great part by professors of the Waldensian faith. An edict of the 18th Dec. 1629, signed Charles Emanuel, represents the extent of non-conformity to be such, as to prevail not only at Paesana, Versuola, and other places about Saluzzo, but even as far south as Drovero, Carraglio, Acceglio, and the valley of Maira.

Such were the remoter objects on which we glanced from our elevated watch-tower. Immediately beneath us, to the left, were the lovely scenes of San Giovanni and La Torre, embroidered with vineyards, corn-fields, and meadows; and here and there shaded with groves and thickets, and spread over a surface varied by hills, knolls, and undulating slopes; and watered by the Pelice, the Angrogna, Biglione, and other torrents, and by those artificial channels which wind along the sides of the mountain, and descend into the plains in refreshing rills and streamlets. To the right, we saw Villar and its hamlets, part of Bobi, and the dark glens of Val Guichard, and the whole of L'Envers, and the park-like beauties of Pralebroué. L'Envers is the shady side of the chain of mountains, enclosing Val Pelice to the south; and where it is not clothed with natural forests of alder and birch, it is variegated with rhododendrons and flowering shrubs, the former of which were in full blossom at this time, and covering the ground like a mantle of crimson. In bold contrast with the habitations of man, and the work of his hand, and with the lovelier features of nature, were the tremendous chasms and fields of rock, which glared upon us in the nearer vicinity of Castelluzzo. From the immediate point where we were perched, we looked down into the sheer depth of a precipice; profound gulfs

and ravines yawned on every side, and the whole scene was bounded by an indented line of mountain, one peak rising above another in splendid confusion, among which the towering heads of Mont Viso and Visolet, and of the Cols St. Julian and D'Abries, were most conspicuous.

I may confidently affirm, that nothing on earth is to be compared with the effects produced upon the mind by the view of mountain scenery. We enjoyed it upon this occasion to perfection. It was not only the natural, but the historical map of the Waldenses, and of the Church of the Alps, which had been spread before us, and numberless reflections crossed our minds, each of which added to the interest of our excursion, and sent us home full of "solemn thinkings."

We retraced our steps in part, and returned by the narrow ledge, which had conducted us to the summit of Castelluzzo. The descent was worse than the ascent, but fortunately our heads did not fail us. It rarely happens that a pathway, by which a guide will take upon himself to conduct you, is so narrow or slippery as to be absolutely perilous to wary steps; the sight of a precipice is bad enough, but the adventurer ought to know whether his head will stand it or not; if it will, there are few places which a steady foot may not run the risk of crossing, without having any great matter for boasting. I was at first rather nervous

on my wife's account, but, when I saw that there was no apprehension of her turning dizzy, my fears abated.

Grant was rather piqued at our ill success in regard to the cavern, and offered to conduct us to another part of Castelluzzo, but lower down, where he felt certain we should have better fortune. It would not take us much out of our way, he said, as we might descend the mountain in that direction; and, therefore, we agreed to accompany him. He took us round by the foot of the peak, from whence we had enjoyed our glorious view, and then by a thicket to the edge of a precipice. This overlooked the face of the cliff, which common tradition assigned to be that wherein the cavern was situated. He directed us to look down the rock, which, for some hundred feet, was as perpendicular as a wall, and pointed to a spot, which he pronounced to be the mouth of the cavern. We were still incredulous. For how was it possible for any human being to reach it? We were obliged to hold each others hands and collars, and to stretch our bodies and necks to the utmost over the precipice, or we could not even see the place where it was said to be.

Grant allowed that he had never been in it himself, but protested that he knew persons who had.

But how? we asked—for to our eyes there was not the slightest hold for man's hand or foot.

He explained, that the descent was achieved by stooping over the projecting crag on which we stood, and catching hold of the rough points of the cliff, and so letting yourself down till you should come to a sort of tunnel or chimney, by which it was easy to descend, one at a time, into the cavern.

But how were women, and children, and aged fugitives, to perform this exploit, which we confessed ourselves utterly afraid to attempt?

Grant supposed that there had been a second entrance, which was now lost, but most pertinaciously insisted, that by the very means which he had described, acquaintances of his had found their way to the cavern. He also directed our attention to an immense block of stone, which appeared as if it had fallen from the rocks above at no great distance of time, and which certainly did seem to have rendered the approach more difficult than formerly. "If," said he, "you could obtain a good sight of the face of the cliff immediately under this overhanging crag, you would perceive that the achievement is not so impracticable as you may imagine." We leant over the precipice, and went to the verge of prudence in our endeavour to ascertain the fact, but without coming to any conclusion upon the question, and we gave up the enquiry for the present, with the determination to come to the spot again, provided

with rope ladders and other implements to facilitate the search.

We pursued our way back to San Margarita, by Borel and Copia, fatigued certainly by our day's work, but gratified beyond all expectation.

CHAPTER VI.

The Hospital.—The Grammar School.

The vicinity of the hospital to San Margarita gave me frequent opportunities of visiting this institution; and as the times at which I made my visits were irregular, and often unexpected, I had the satisfaction of believing, that the good order, which I found to prevail there, was nothing more than a specimen of the uniform attention paid to the wants and comforts of the inmates.

The first steps towards establishing an hospital for the express reception of Vaudois patients, was taken in the year 1824, when a petition was addressed to the king of Sardinia by the officers of the Table, soliciting his majesty's permission to purchase a house and land in the commune of La Torre, which might serve as an asylum for the aged, infirm, and sick of the Vaudois population. This boon having been granted, and with it the royal sanction to nominate a commission for the administration of the institution, the Table next applied themselves to the equally important con-

sideration of the ways and means of setting it on foot. The result of their deliberation was, to make a public appeal to the Protestant Churches of Europe. It was nobly answered by some of them; and as I have before stated (see note, p. 159.) 105,000 francs were raised in France, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and the German states, which were remitted to the valleys at once; and with part of this sum they purchased the house, which has since been converted into a hospital; and a farm, which is also in the commune of La Torre, and which yields an annual rent of about 2000 francs. The subscriptions in England, Prussia, and Holland, being carried to a much greater amount, it was prudently resolved, by the committees who had the management of them, to invest the capital in the public funds of the countries where such subscriptions were raised, and to remit the interest by yearly or half yearly payments, to the hospital commission at La Torre. This has been done, and the establishment in chief at La Torre, and the dispensary at Pomaretto in Val San. Martino, enjoy the benefit of an income from abroad, to the amount of 400*l.* a-year: viz. 150*l.* from England, 150*l.* from Prussia, and 100*l.* from Holland, besides the rent of the farm, and about 13*l.* a-year upon a mortgage: in all nearly 500*l.* per annum. Among other benefactions to this hospital, the late emperor Alexander of Russia presented it with 4000 francs.

The building is admirably situated for the purpose to which it is assigned. It is in the hamlet of Copia, on the high road between La Torre and Villar, and very near the Protestant church of the former. It is, therefore, in a direct line of communication with the most populous of the Vaudois villages, and in the centre of the population of the valley of Luserna, amounting to 9,800 souls, or half the whole Protestant community. The house itself, consisting of twelve rooms, the smallest about sixteen feet square, is of a handsome exterior, and stands within an inclosure of about two acres. A better site could not have been chosen; it is somewhat elevated, perfectly detached from other buildings, and has the advantage of a fine supply of running water, besides two large pools or reservoirs, which minister very considerably to the convenience and cleanliness of the establishment. The ground, which forms what we should call the garden, is very productive, and is divided into allotments, which yield corn, fruit, vegetables, and wine.

So airy and charming is the situation, that the first view dissipates all our notions of an hospital, but upon entering the house, and walking through the rooms which are allotted to the patients, nothing is missed, which is supposed to be essential to an institution for the relief of malady and disaster. The rooms were kept clean and well ventilated. The bedsteads were of iron, and no

greater number of beds were placed in each chamber, than the space would conveniently admit. Proper regard was paid to the separation of male and female patients. In short, there was every symptom of the strictest observance of all that was necessary to render the establishment creditable to the directors, and beneficial to the unfortunate objects who claimed its protection, in regard to aliment, economy, and treatment.

The Commission of the hospital, composed of a president, treasurer, secretary, and five members, are in charge of the concern, and issue such orders from time to time as they may consider proper, but the internal management is in the hands of the physician, M. Coucourde, who for the poor salary of 500 francs a-year, and rooms in the house, with such other advantages as the garden and rations may afford, gives his principal, I may say, his whole time to the establishment, and conducts it with a degree of tenderness and regularity, which speak well for his heart and judgment. Under the physician are a ward-keeper, who receives 150 francs, and the matron, who is paid 120 francs a-year, for their services, with board and lodging. The surgeon has an annual stipend of 300 francs, and for this he visits the hospital at stated periods, and as often as his presence is required.

The hospital has convenient accommodation for fourteen patients, and the dispensary at Pomaretto

for eight; and the average expenditure, independently of the salaries, is at the rate of one franc, or ten-pence a day for each patient, including charges for food, medicine, fuel, and wine. In the course of the year, about two hundred persons are admitted at the two houses. The complaints most common to the sufferers arise from old age, inflammation, accidents, rheumatism, and low fevers, brought on by cold, and poor, and low living. To those who have subscribed to this institution, it will be gratifying to learn, that their alms could not have been better bestowed; that the quantity of good effected, at little cost, is beyond what the most sanguine could have expected, and it is so appreciated in the valleys, that many a blessing is invoked upon the strangers, who have contributed to its foundation and endowment. "Oh! sir," said a patient to me, who was but just recovering from a long and painful disorder, "had it not been for our brethren of other lands, I should at this moment have been a hopeless sufferer, and writhing under agonies, for which I could have obtained no cure in my hut upon the mountain; for how could the surgeon have attended me as often as my malady required him, at such a distance from his home, and without any expectation of being remunerated for his trouble?"

In addition to the annual remittance of 150*l.* the London Vaudois Committee, at the request of that watchful friend of the Vaudois, Mr. Bridge, have

sent two cases of surgical instruments, of English manufacture, to the valleys—one for the use of the hospital, the other for the dispensary; and they have also defrayed the expense of a warm bath.

It would be doing injustice to the managers of this medical establishment, if I did not add to these statements, that the shape, in which the daily and monthly accounts are kept, is one of the most perfect models of accuracy and perspicuity which I ever examined. The number of patients admitted, dismissed, and retained, with their names and parishes, the character and treatment of their disorders, and the description and quantity of diet and medicine administered to them,are inserted in printed forms, which furnish the inspector with a complete knowledge of what is going on [1].

[1] The first runs thus:—

Cahier de Visite.

Visite du mois an 18

No du Lit.	Noms et Prénoms des Malades.	Commune du Domicile.	Dates.		Aliments.	Médicaments.	OBSERVATIONS
			de l'entrée à l'hôpital	de la Maladie.			

The second :—

HOPITAL VAUDOIS.

Extrait du Cahier de Visite pour la Consomation des aliments pendant le mois de

JOURS DU MOIS.	Nombre des malades de chaque jour.	PORTION de tout le jour.				¾ DE PORTION de chaque jour.				½ PORTION de chaque jour.				¼ DE PORTION de chaque jour.				SOUPES de chaque jour.			OBSERVATIONS.
		Pain.	Viande.	Aliments légers.	Vin.	Pain.	Viande.	Aliments légers.	Vin.	Pain.	Viande.	Aliments légers.	Vin.	Pain.	Viande.	Aliments légers.	Vin.	Pain.	Riz.	Vermicels.	

The third :—

Récapitulation de la consomation des aliments du mois de

PAIN.					VIANDE.					ALIMENTS LEGERS.					VIN.			SOUPES.				
Désignation de la portion	Quantité des portions.	Réduction en livres.	Prix à la livre.	TOTAL du prix.	Désignation de la portion.	Quantité des portions.	Réduction en livres.	Prix à la livre.	TOTAL de la livre.	Désignation de la portion.	Quantité des portions.	Réduction en livres.	Prix de la livre.	TOTAL du Prix.	Désignation de la portion.	Quantité des portions.	Réduction en quartins.	Qualité de la soupe.	Quantité des soupes.	Réduction en livres.	Prix à la livre.	TOTAL du prix.

N.B. La portion est fixée à six onces.
Les trois quarts à cinq onces.
La demi à quatre onces.
Le quart à trois onces.
Les soupes de riz et vermicels à deux onces.
La soupe de pain à trois onces.

Certifié conforme au cahier de visite.

The farm belonging to the hospital is a nice compact estate, lying in a ring-fence, as we should say in England, and well irrigated by one of those artificial streamlets brought from the mountains, which add so much to the beauty and productiveness of the land. It is about fifty-six journeaux, or acres, in extent, and yields grain of all kinds, timber, grass, and wine, being laid out in those parterres or strips, common to the country, which, when the corn is ripe, present the picturesque appearance to the eye of one large field of many colours. This property is not immediately contiguous to the hospital itself, but it is sufficiently near, and lies to the right, abutting upon the road as you come from La Torre to San Margarita. It stretches up towards the hamlet of Ravadére, where the ground begins to swell into a bold acclivity, and the farm buildings, standing in the midst of fine spreading trees, give it a more imposing appearance when seen from a distance, than a nearer inspection will realize. The name by which it is known, is Des Airals Blancs, and many a pleasant ramble did I enjoy over its grounds, taking an interest in every sheaf that was bound, and in every load of corn that was carried, as if the prosperity of the establishment, to which it belongs, depended solely upon the produce which Des Airals Blancs might yield.

The Grammar School, as well as the hospital,

was so near our residence, that it was in my power to make frequent visits to it without the least inconvenience. A pleasant walk conducted to it, either by the road which led to the church, or by the groves and vineyards on the banks of the Biglione. This latter lengthened the distance a little, but the shade, and the refreshing sight of the vines and clusters of grapes hanging in festoons and in rich profusion, were tempting enough to draw me in that direction even in the heat of the day.

There is no house appropriated to this School. It is, at present, held in the Presbytery of La Torre, close to the Protestant church, and it is one of the defects of the system of public instruction in the valleys, that the only provision for the maintenance of a Latin or Grammar School, at the time of which I am speaking, was a small stipend from Holland, towards the payment of a master. This amounted to no more than 650 francs *effectives*, or 780 livres *neuves;* to which the Dutch committee kindly added thirty francs, to be distributed among the scholars by way of rewarding merit. Without a fixed habitation for the establishment, with so small a salary for the instructor, and without any of those advantages, which are essential to the well-being of an institution, supposed to be for the encouragement of a classical and religious education, it is almost ridiculous to call it by the imposing name of a "Latin" or "Grammar School." Having investigated its con-

dition, I could not but smile at Brezzi's account. "Il y a de plus deux écoles Latines, où les jeunes gens, qui embrassent la carrière apostolique, apprennent le Latin, et un peu de Grec, après quoi ils passent dans les académies de Lausanne, de Genève, et de Bâle, pour y finir leurs études." Even the second Latin School, such as it was, that is, the stipend for a second Latin schoolmaster, in the upper valleys, had disappeared before my arrival, for the benefactions from Holland had fallen off so considerably, as to force the Table to discontinue the appointment, for want of funds necessary to its support.

A fatality seems to have attended every endeavour to improve the home education of the young Vaudois, who are designed for the sacred and higher professions. The college of Angrogna is no more: so complete has been its destruction, that we have nothing but tradition for the truth of its having ever existed. Of what nature, and how maintained, and how conducted, none can tell—every memorial but its name has departed, and we know no more of it than this—that youth instructed in the deepest recesses of the valley of Angrogna, were sent to the different churches and colonies of the Waldenses, to preach the pure faith of the primitive churches. That schools of a superior order were instituted from time to time, we learn from the edicts that were published against the Vaudois by their jealous rulers. One

of them, dated 1602, commanded such schools to be shut, under pain of death; another permitted them to be held within the assigned limits; a third fulminated confiscation and banishment against an instructor of Val Dublone, whose successful method of instruction seems to have attracted the angry notice of the government. The annual salary of 20*l.* which Oliver Cromwell, at the persuasion of Milton, allotted towards the maintenance of the "chief school of the valleys," was withdrawn at the restoration of Charles II. Another benevolent attempt, to sustain a system of effective instruction for the Vaudois, was made by Sharpe, archbishop of York, in 1709; when he urged queen Anne to make provision for the schoolmasters, as well as for the ministers of the valleys. This also failed. Again in 1778, His late majesty George III. issued letters-patent, empowering the Protestants of the valleys to solicit contributions through the parishes of England, "to enable them to maintain the ministers, churches, and *schools*." The sum raised was only sufficient to make a small increase to the allowances of the clergy.

After all these endeavours and plans for the amelioration of public instruction in this quarter, it is lamentable to think, that the poor resources that remained should be still further reduced, and that nothing should have been left for the encouragement of young persons, who show talent

and inclination for higher studies, than a pittance for the maintenance of one teacher, and twenty-five shillings to be distributed in prizes. Holland has generously contributed to the utmost of her means. There is reason to fear, that late political events may dry up some of the sources, from whence her bounty has hitherto flowed to the valleys; and if so, the central and hamlet schools must be diminished. The letter addressed by the Dutch committee to the officers of the Table in 1829, concluded with this affecting observation:—

"You will perceive by this exposé, that it is impossible for us to subsidize the Latin school at Pomaretto any longer; we are seriously afflicted by our inability to contribute further towards it, because we well know the necessity of that establishment; and our regret would be greater, if we had not reason to hope, that our brethren in England will be able and willing to supply the deficiency."

Their hope has been fulfilled. Since my return from the valleys, a representation has been made to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, by the London Vaudois Committee; and that venerable body has appropriated the sum of 28*l.* or 30*l.* a-year towards the re-establishment of the Latin School at Pomaretto. To this, 12*l.* has been added out of private funds, and the elder son of the late moderator Peyrani, at the express recommendation of the officers of the Table, was appointed master in May last; and I

have been assured by several letters since received from the Moderator of the valleys, that he is discharging the duties of his office with zeal and credit to himself. I believe he is residing in the house occupied by his father, and should I ever revisit the valleys, I know of no greater pleasure that I can receive there, than to find the son dwelling on the spot, where old Rodolphe Peyrani first inspired me with enthusiastic admiration of the Waldensian character, and to be told that he attempts to follow his father's steps, though he is far behind him in talents and acquirements;

Sequiturque patrem non passibus æquis.

With such inadequate provision, as I have been describing, for imparting classical and elementary theological knowledge to the Vaudois youth, I did not make my first visit to the school-room of Mr. Monastier, the Latin master of La Torre, with any sanguine expectation of finding much interest taken by the instructor in the duties of his vocation, or any great proficiency on the part of his pupils. What, thought I, can be expected of a professor of Latin, Greek, and Sacred literature, whose salary, at the utmost, is 35*l.* a-year, out of which he is liable to have to pay rent for his habitation and lecture-room? Would a scholar—would a man of any pretensions undertake the drudgery of teaching for such a remuneration?

Or if he does pay proper attention to his charge, is it possible, that with all the zeal in the world, he can prepare his boys sufficiently to enter upon the higher course of studies at Lausanne or Geneva? It is not likely that the most studious can be pushed on, under the present system in the valleys, so as to be able to compete with their fellows, upon their first arrival at the Swiss universities, or that any Vaudois youth, of eighteen or twenty, educated in his own country, can acquire the degree of knowledge, which other young men of the same age are supposed to be capable of attaining. Books, and every intellectual aliment are wanting. I doubt whether there is a globe, a box of mathematical instruments, a good lexicon, or the requisite for pursuing any one scientific enquiry, to be found in all the three valleys.

Unreasonable then would he be, who looks for much in the Grammar School of La Torre, as it is now constituted; but I was most agreeably surprised by finding the master well-informed, zealous, active, and successful in his labours, far beyond any thing which I was prepared to expect. I have put together in this place the result of my several observations at different times. The school consisted of twenty-two boys, whose ages varied from nine to fifteen and a half. These were divided into five classes: all of whom are regularly instructed in religion, and read the Scriptures at stated times.

The fifth, or lowest class, besides writing and arithmetic, learn the Latin grammar.

The fourth are taught out of an easy collection of Latin sentences, called Chrestomathia.

The third enter upon the more difficult passages in the Chrestomathia, Phædrus's fables, and the Greek grammar.

The second learn the Greek grammar, Cæsar, Quintus Curtius, and Ovid.

The first class read Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Virgil, Horace, and Greek Testament, and geography.

I did not see any of these authors except in the shape of collections, and select passages; and there were no dictionaries, but such as were lent by the master. The art of prosody and scanning did not form part of the routine of instruction. The price of books is a heavy tax and drawback upon the rustic scholars of the valleys, and it is for this reason, that they have no authors entire. Almost all the books in use come from Lausanne, and the impost at the custom-house is heavy. The first cost of a Greek grammar is three francs; a Latin grammar, two; the Chrestomathia, three; the selection from Livy, Sallust, and Cicero, three and three quarters; a dictionary, nine. The duty and carriage add materially to these charges.

The geographical instruction communicated to these lads is contained in a thin duodecimo, which presents the merest outline, but M. Monastier has taken great pains in drawing up and writing out a

system of his own, which the boys copy for their use.

The hours of attendance are from seven to ten, and from two to four in the summer; and from eight to eleven, and from two to four in winter. It must be remembered that all the scholars, except two or three who board with M. Monastier, come daily from some distance, from the village and hamlets of La Torre, from Villar, San Giovanni, and Angrogna. At the time of which I am speaking, there were none from Rora or Bobi, in Val Luserna, two only from Villar, and two from Angrogna; not one from the valleys of Perosa and San Martino. San Giovanni and La Torre supplied the greatest number. The reason is, that the parents cannot often afford to pay for the board and lodgings of their children away from home, and such only attend the grammar-school, who can go and return the same day. And yet the sum for which M. Monastier would furnish bed, board, and washing, is only 20 francs a month, reckoning ten months to the year, and charging nothing for vacations.

Under all these disadvantages I was surprised to find how well the boys were grounded. Whatever they learnt, they had learnt well. It was my favourite practice, before the school broke up for the summer holidays, to stroll up to the presbytery, and to see M. Monastier and his scholars at their studies. They answered my questions with

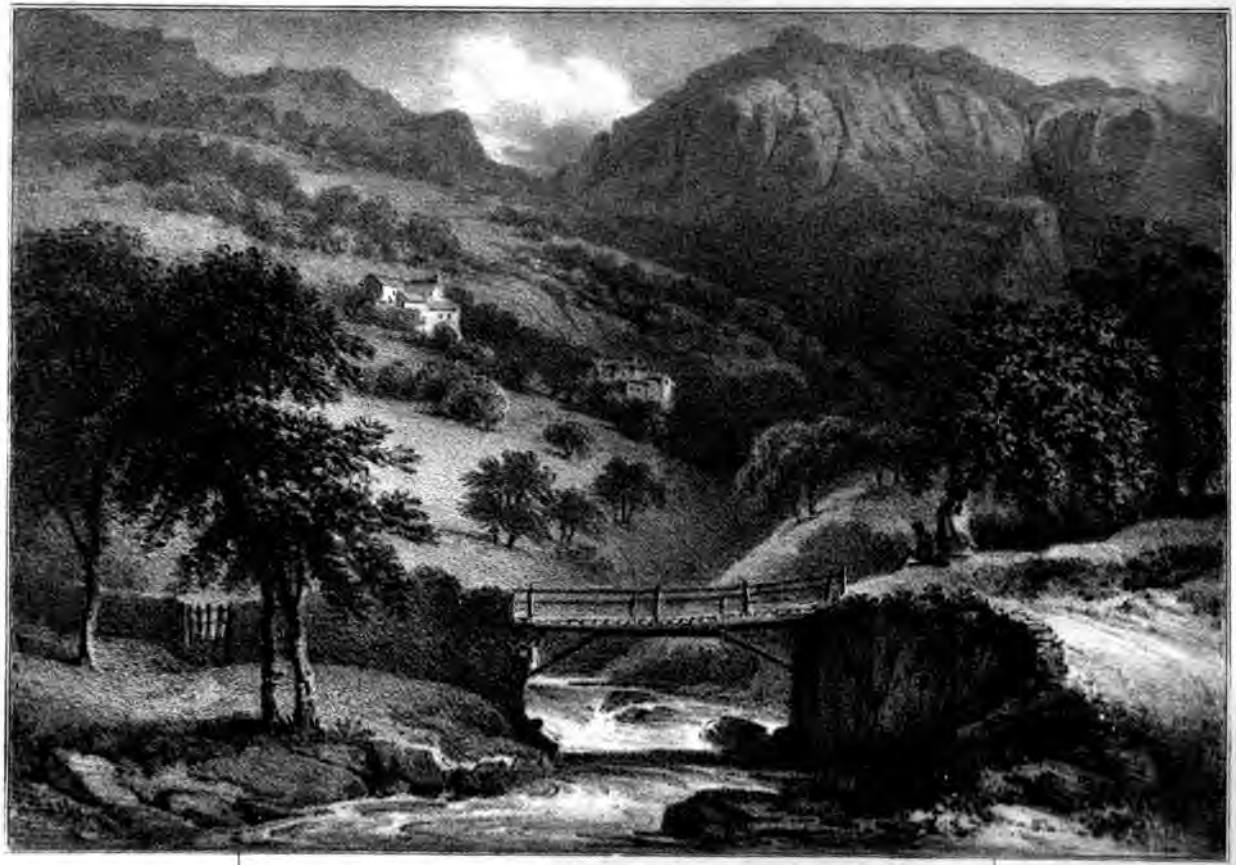
great good humour and readiness, without the least shyness, and did credit both to their master and to themselves. I was particularly pleased with a boy of the first class, only eleven and a half years old, Pierre Meille of San Giovanni, who construed Virgil, in a passage to which I turned at random, and replied to some mythological and grammatical questions, which I put to him, with an accuracy which shewed that he had lost no time. Another boy, Paul Caffarelli, repeated rules from the Greek grammar, which he had learnt some time back, as fluently as if they had been the lesson of yesterday. These were satisfactory proofs that the foundation is well laid, and made me regret the more, that the master and his promising pupils had not more of those advantages, which are indispensable to the prosperity of such an establishment.

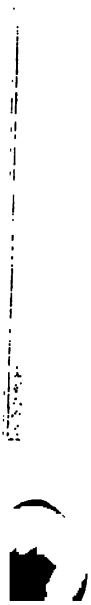
CHAPTER VII.

Villar and its hamlets. Hamlet Readers. Gunpowder plot at Villar. Present harmony between Protestants and Roman Catholics. The old Soldier of Liossa. The Virgin of the Pillar. Bobi. Ruins of the Fort of Sibaud. The Vaudois Pastor's Charge. The hero Jahier. Octavia Solara.

JULY 7—11. This week was spent in making excursions to various quarters of the Val Luserna. The pastors of Villar and Bobi had put us in requisition, and from their presbyteries we found our way to some of the retired hamlets in the upper part of the valley. The road to Bobi is so far practicable for a carriage, but our only mode of travelling from the time we arrived at La Torre, was on a pony or mule, or on foot.

On our way to Villar, west of La Torre, we visited the small school of the hamlet of Theynaud, held in an out-building belonging to a farm, the property of M. Bonjour's family. The room was about fourteen feet square; and, in the winter, between forty and fifty children of the hamlet congregate together in this small space. Theynaud, the first hamlet after crossing the Carofratre torrent, the boundary stream between Villar and





La Torre, is the most fertile of the eleven "quartiers" into which Villar is divided, and occupies the space between the acclivity of the mountain, and the river Pelice. At this season of the year it was offering a rich promise of corn and wine. Above it, and to the north-west, and on the wood-crowned heights, which terminate in rocky precipices, is Chialmis, a picturesque hamlet, where the land is kept in a fine state of productiveness by the "canals d'arrosage," supplied by the torrent Rospardo. These artificial streamlets are under regulations, which provide that each farm shall have an equal share of the benefit derived from them. The main cut extends in a winding direction from the torrent, along the whole length of the region which requires irrigation, and from this sundry smaller canals are formed and so managed as to convey the water into each field. The proprietor to whom the fields belong, is permitted to draw the stream into his land for a certain time only, else the main supply would soon be exhausted in dry weather, and his neighbours would be injured. The process of diverting the water into different parts of a field, the whole of which lies on a slope, is contrived by means of a broad implement, not unlike a spade, which throws it off in the direction required.

Chialmis has a small school, where about forty scholars assemble in the winter, and it has also a building which they call an ancient church, but in

such a dilapidated state at present, that it is not weather-tight. Here, in the troublesome times of the seventeenth century, the Protestants of the eastern part of Villar used to meet for public worship. Those of the western quarters found their way to a still more elevated hamlet called Bezzé, where they served God after the manner of their fathers in a fabric, dignified, like this of Chialmis, with the name of a church. In the former of these sanctuaries, to which the hearts of the people still cling with fond veneration, the regent of Villar reads prayers every Sunday afternoon during the year, and at each of these "Eglises Annexées," in the winter months, the school-masters perform the morning service of the Lord's-day at nine o'clock.

In these provisions for the instruction of the peasants, and for the gathering together of the people in prayer, even though it be without the presence of the shepherd of the flock, and under the guidance of an inadequate substitute, we trace the salutary practice of the early Churches. As Christianity spread, the number of public readers was increased; and it was wisely thought expedient, that the Scriptures, and "Memoirs of the Apostles," and other pious works, should be opened to the poor and ignorant of the remotest and most obscure parts by every possible means. Where it could not be done well, it was to be done indifferently—rather than be left undone; and hence

the office of reader was frequently undertaken by men of very moderate acquirements. If there be any supercilious scoffer who is inclined to sneer at the practice, I would fain convey him to the ruined chapel of Chialmis or Bezzé, in the stormy months of January or February; and were he to behold a group of devout mountaineers kneeling on the cold wet floor, and only half sheltered from the rain or snow, beating in at the roof and the unglazed windows, I would answer for his being moved to better thoughts by the sight, even though the most ignorant of the readers should be leading the service. Where the pastor can be present, neither the recital of the prayers, nor the reading of the Scripture passage ought to be left to the regents; but in the more mountainous districts, where he cannot find his way to the people, nor they to him, it is most wisely and piously ordered, that those, who hunger after the word of God, should not go unfed. Happy would it be for the members of our own Establishment, in some of the extensive parishes which I could name, if there were church officers, under the character of readers or catechists, who should be authorised to assemble the inhabitants of farms and cottages, which are remote from the parish church, and read such part of the Church service as might be thought convenient.

Mr. Gay, the pastor of Villar, observed to me, when I was conversing with him upon the con-

dition of his parishioners, that the inhabitants of the mountain or higher hamlets, were more devout than those of the vale. Villar is a populous commune, and may be regarded as a fair specimen of a Vaudois parish, both as to its localities, productions, and moral condition. It extends on each side of the Pelice about three miles in length, and its hamlets are spread north and south upon the acclivities of the mountains, which confine this part of the valley of Luserna. Corn, wine, chesnuts, and other fruits, are as abundant as the nature of a varying soil by rock and river side will admit. Fish in the streams, and game in the woods, add something to the resources of the inhabitants.

The great complaint here, as in most other Vaudois parishes, is the increase of population, without a corresponding increase of the means of subsistence. Its present population is about 2,300; the increase in the last seven years has been 100. From 280 to 300 of the people of Villar are Roman Catholics, and the number of these has recently augmented to the amount of about fifteen every year. The families of the custom-house officers, frontier guard, and others in the civil or military service of the government, account for this augmentation. In the Memoires of Morel, printed in 1550, the number of persons professing the Waldensian faith is stated to be 800,000. This must include not only the Vaudois of Piemont, and the Protestants in the marquisate

of Saluzzo and province of Suza, but their brethren also on the other side of the Alps, in Provence and Dauphiné. In 1501, a process was instituted against the Waldenses by the archbishop of Embrun, and the commission reported, that in the Alpine towns and villages of the dioceses of Embrun and Turin, there were more than 50,000. In the treaty between Henry IV. and the Churches of the Valleys, dated 1592, the proportion, between the Protestants and Roman Catholics of the valleys, was stated as a hundred to one. In 1826, Mr. Bridge found the numbers to be, Protestants 18,729, Roman Catholics 2,880. In 1829, the latter had increased to 3,320. In round numbers therefore, the present proportion is only as six to one. The number of Barbes, or Pastors, in the sixteenth century, was 140.

Few places suffered more from religious feuds than Villar, during the conflicts that raged from 1561 to 1690. A church, not like the small sanctuaries of Chialmis and Bezzé, but of large dimensions, with tower and belfry, was utterly demolished. It was built so as to point north and south, and was said for this reason to have been an object peculiarly marked for destruction. A more terrible act of vengeance was intended for the present temple, and its congregation, about a century ago, which resembled, both in its machination and discovery, the gunpowder-treason-plot of our own country. Formerly there was a convent which

stood at no great distance from the Protestant church, and the scheme was to place gunpowder under the foundations of the church, and to lay a train from it to the convent, which was to be fired when the Vaudois population were assembled at the hour of Divine service. A Vaudois woman received an anonymous scrawl from some humane friend of the other religion, advising her not to go to church on the day fixed for the execution of the plot—this led to its detection.

The Protestant and Roman Catholic inhabitants of Villar are, at present, living together without any display of animosity, and I am quite persuaded, that all the natives of this part of Piemont would regard each other with feelings undisturbed by any religious differences of opinion, if the penal statutes and inabilities were removed. I delight in recording a proof of the good-will which prevails between the two parties, and which is seldom interrupted, except by the meddling of the curés. The municipal council of Villar, which administers the affairs of the place, is composed, as in the other communes, of five members, of whom three must always be Roman Catholic. When the syndic or principal member is Protestant, the syndic adjoint or depute, must be Roman Catholic, and the reverse. But with this majority, the council agreed to allow 100 francs a year to the Protestant school-master, or regent of the central school. The vote of the municipal body was not

carried into effect, because the superior authorities issued a veto. This council, upon another occasion, expressed its willingness to make the grant of a piece of ground belonging to the commune, for the site of a building for a girls' school; the school to be built by the London Committee. But the committee could not accept the offer for fear of a prohibition, when the work might be half finished. During the whole period of the French government, when the Vaudois were under the sceptre of Napoleon, and in the enjoyment of religious and civil rights, there was no instance known of discord arising out of Protestantism or Romanism, and in no case did a Vaudois visit upon a Roman Catholic the injuries or the affronts, which he had previously received. This was the more extraordinary, because the recollection of the horrible plot, concocted by the curé of La Torre, as related in my first Narrative, was yet fresh in the memory of several who were destined to destruction. I may take this opportunity of mentioning, that the amiable Odetti, the good Catholic who was the means of defeating it [1], was still living in 1829. A peasant in my hearing sung a song in patois, which contained the history of this plot, and its providential discovery; but there was no appeal in it to angry or vindictive passions.

The objects at Villar, which the traveller will find himself inclined to regard with peculiar inter-

[1] See Narrative of an Excursion to the Vaudois, Chap. V.

est, besides those which I have already mentioned, are the girls' school endowed by the London Committee—the palace, as it is called, a large building on the road to Bobi, constructed by the Savoyards who came to take possession of the confiscated lands of the Vaudois in 1686—the school at Subiasca, built at the expense of that generous benefactor of the Waldensian Church, Count Waldbourg de Truckses—the school at Puys, a hamlet on L'Envers, established by Colonel Beckwith, a name connected with some act of benevolence in every parish of the valleys—the school of Buffé, remarkable for the striking beauty of its situation, "situe," as it was truly described to me, "dans une vaste prairie, bordée au midi de magnifiques chataigniers,"—and the romantic abode of the old soldier Giraudin, on the banks of the Liossa torrent, which falls into the Pelice from the south. We visited this latter spot in the cool of the evening, after enjoying the pastor's hospitality, and the society of as many of his friends as he could seat at his table, where the same unreserved and open-hearted manners were manifested, which I have before described.

We expected to find one of those lovely glens in which nature reigns supreme, without any of the intrusive improvements of man. Whether it is, that there is not the taste, or the means sufficient to give that finished character to landscape which we are in the habit of admiring in England,

by planting, laying out walks, and otherwise, or whether the beauties of the natural scenery are enough of themselves to satisfy the natives of the valleys, certain it is that ornamental gardening, and the cultivation of pleasure grounds, do not form the study of the Vaudois. Here, then, we were not a little surprised to find that every possible advantage had been taken of the local capabilities, and that a spot, naturally beautiful, had received all the improvement which could be introduced, without disturbing its original features. The venerable proprietor of the little domain had served in the army, and had risen to the rank of captain, before the withering edict was renewed by the restored house of Savoy, which closes the door of promotion upon the Vaudois. Captain Giraudin had seen, in his campaigns, the modes which are adopted in other countries, of giving that helping hand to nature, which none but men of taste can apply successfully. On his return to his native valley, he resolved to amuse his declining years by practising the lessons which he had learnt; and could his "Sabine farm," with its fountain, and rivulet, and overhanging rocks, and the contentment that reigns there, be transported to Windsor or Versailles, the richest jewel in the royal crowns of England and France would not be too much in exchange.

With singular felicity there is not a tree or shrub either left or planted in a wrong place, there

is not a feature, which he has added, too formal, too pretty, or in any degree out of character with the wild and noble scenery by which he is surrounded. He has diverted a branch of the Liossa torrent, he has formed rills and cascades, he has trained his vines, arranged his flower-beds, walled up his little terraces, enlarged or contracted his grottos, led his paths through groves and brakes of small extent, and has accomplished his designs with such a masterly hand, that it almost provoked us to attempt to discover some fault. All this has been done by his own manual labour; he has built a cottage adjoining his own, in which the whole of the carpenter's and mason's work was wrought by himself. The break-water in miniature erected against the winter floods of the Liossa, which might otherwise sweep away the fruits of his toil and taste, consist of stones, every one of which was placed there by himself; and in this charming spot he dwells in the garb and with the simple manners of a peasant, but with the mind and the enjoyment that princes might envy[1].

[1] Fenelon's beautiful picture rose before me, as we reposed among the masses of rock which overhung the Liossa, and gazed upon the old man's fairy-land. " Telemacque fut surpris de voir, avec une apparence de rustique, tout ce qui peut charmer les yeux. On n'y voyoit ni or, ni argent, ni marbre, ni colonnes, ni tableaux, ni statues; cette grotte étoit taillée dans le roc, en voutes pleînes de rocailles, et de coquilles : elle étoit tapissée d'une jeune vigne qui étendoit ses branches souples également de

Before we left this little paradise, M. Giraudin invited us to enter his cottage, and to taste his wine. The flavour of the juice by no means accorded with the delicious aspect of the grapes, as they hung in purple clusters from the tendrils, and the interior of the habitation was as much unlike the scenery out of doors as a hovel is unlike a palace; nothing that we saw bespoke comfort or attention to the delights of "home, sweet home," save an old family Bible lying open upon a table. Some magic wand seemed to have been applied to tease and astonish us. Was the owner of this cabin the man of refined taste, who had but just realized to our sight the refreshing dreams of the groves of Calypso, or the hanging gardens of Babylon? Such, however, are the Vaudois; simple-minded peasants, cultivators of the soil, keepers of sheep, vine dressers, whose joy, like the Scripture men of old, is to dwell under their vines and their fig trees[1].

tous cotés. Des fontaines, coulantes avec un doux murmure sur des prés semés d'amaranthes et de violettes, formoient en divers lieux des bains aussi pures et aussi clairs que le cristal: milles fleurs naissants émailloient les tapis verts dont le grotte étoit environnée."

[1] In going to and returning from Villar, we passed a shrine called "Le Pilori," or "Pilori Tavière," humourously so termed in memory of the gallant colonel, who protected himself behind it during the heat of an engagement which was fought here in the revolutionary war. I mention this again, to explain that "The virgin of the Pillar," is one of the numerous distinctions

July 8. We rose very early in the morning, and pursued our way to Bobi before the sun was too hot for the journey. Bobi is the last Vaudois commune towards the west and south-west, at the foot of the great Alpine chain which separates Piemont from Dauphiné. It is so finely situated, and presents such a scene of complicated grandeur and beauty, that it defies all description. Nor can it be represented faithfully by the pencil, for the village is so embowered among trees, that I know of no point of view, unless it be a bird's-eye view, from whence a true drawing can be made. Bobi, in fact, is so completely in the midst of one vast grove of chesnuts and walnuts, and under the shelter of the gigantic rocks which overhang it on two sides, that although the sky was without a cloud, and the sun shot his fiercest rays upon the earth, yet we spent the greatest

by which the Madonna is honoured, in consequence of a miracle said to have been performed on a young girl, who fell into the Po, and who was marvellously saved from drowning by the intervention of "the mother of God" herself, in the year 1644. On the spot near the banks of the river, where the Virgin was seen interposing her services on that occasion, a church was built, with a marble column, on which the miracle was emblazoned. Many similar representations were painted in other parts, and the "Virgin of the Pillar," became a favorite old saint, under a new name, to the devout Piemontese. Among other places it was determined to erect a shrine near Villar, and the noble Tavière had reason to be grateful to the piety, which provided a shield and buckler for him in the stone walls of this hiding place.

part of the day in sauntering about, shaded by the trees as we walked, or resting ourselves in the grottos which abound in the immediate vicinity of the village. . The land is also so well irrigated, that the verdure was more like that of early spring than of burning July.

Refreshed by the sight and sound of many waters gushing and brawling under our feet, or leaping from the rocks in cascades, we accompanied the pastor to the hamlet of Sibaud, and to the remains of the ancient fort where a detachment of the Vaudois performed one of their great exploits, under Henri Arnaud, in the year 1689. The spot is well calculated to assist the imagination, and to add effect to Arnaud's narrative. It overlooks the main village from a precipitous cliff, and is reached from below by a path winding among crags, or shaded by the thick foliage of chesnuts. " From behind that thicket," said our conductor, " my countrymen rushed upon their adversaries. The fort was taken sword in hand. The Duke's soldiers leaped from the walls and windows, when they found the place no longer tenable. Down that declivity they fled amain, with the exiles at their heels in fierce pursuit. Many of them tumbled over the cliff; others caught by the projections of the rocks, or clung to the roots and branches of trees, and there remained till the slaughter was over. But upon the

whole," added the pastor, "though the day was nobly won, it was not a day to which we can look with unmixed exultation. Bobi was then in the hands of the Savoyards, to whom the court had granted the confiscated lands of the Vaudois, and the victors disgraced themselves by pillaging the houses."

We explored an old building, which is now used as a barn, and found our way into a vaulted chamber, which, it is easy to believe, was the very dungeon where the Count de Sibaud confined some Vaudois prisoners, before his defeat by Arnaud. It was without any light, but such as was admitted by the door, and a hole broken through the wall, and was entered by passing through another stone chamber of the same dimensions. In the roof were two wooden staples, perforated as if for ropes or chains to pass through them. Our imagination was immediately busy in assigning a use to which these staples were put. They could be for nothing less than to confine, perhaps to torture, the miserable inmates of the cell. Full of these and similar fancies, we searched the walls, to see if we could not find the names, perhaps the lamentations, of some unhappy victims who had languished here. We did not discover any thing to confirm our suspicions, and perhaps the next stranger who pursues the investigation, will be able to solve the mystery, and to report that the

tale-fraught staples have been recently fixed there for purposes much more harmless than we were inclined to suppose.

Some of my countrymen, who have visited these scenes, have judged a little too harshly of the pastor of Bobi, and others of his sacred profession, who seem to take pleasure in contemplating the warlike character of the Vaudois of former times, and in recounting their achievements. For my own part, though I look upon every appeal to the sword as an event to be exceedingly deplored, as one in which man is reduced to a condition, wherein the line between guilt and innocence is scarcely to be discerned, yet I cannot condemn the Waldensian clergyman, who takes an interest in relating the deliverances vouchsafed by Almighty God, in favour of the Church of the Alps, through the valour of the Jahiers, and the Janavels, and the Arnauds of their day. His feelings are those of the scribes and chroniclers of Israel, who penned the narratives, and kept up the recollection of the mighty deeds done by David, or Gideon, or Joshua. The hand of the Lord has also been with the Vaudois, and so long as the men of the present generation give God the praise, for the victories obtained by their forefathers, we cannot require of them to be silent upon subjects of such deep concern.

At the same time, I reverence that mild and

Christian spirit, which would take seasonable opportunities of reminding the descendants of these heroes, that, though it may be permitted to them to dwell, with occasional delight, upon the services rendered to the Waldensian Church by those who have bled for her, yet the prevailing sentiment ought to be that of thanksgiving, and humiliation before God, who has so long found a place for her, from the fury of the dragon, even though it be in the wilderness. It should be accompanied also by frequent meditation upon the nature of that faith, which requires such sacrifices on the part of its professors.

Whatever pleasure Mr. Muston, the pastor of Bobi, may find in describing "how fields were won," I can bear witness that there is an enjoyment of another kind, in which he indulges largely; that of watching over his people with a parent's eye. Few parish ministers know more of their flock than he does, or are more beloved, and I rejoice in this opportunity of adding my testimony to that of Mr. Jackson, who speaks both of Mr. Muston, and his neighbour, Mr. Gay, as "attentive ministers of the Gospel." The accurate and very detailed statements, which these two pastors gave me, in writing, of the condition of their parishes, leave no doubt as to the zeal with which they discharge their duties, and the watchfulness which they exercise in the cure of souls.

The constitution of the Waldensian Church

assigns to each pastor a particular and a definite charge. The scene of his exertion is marked out; a territorial division, a parochial station in the strictest sense of the word is affixed; and with a habitation, and a "rural," or piece of glebe as we should call it, small though it be, allotted to him, he is entrusted with the spiritual care of the people of the same faith with himself, who occupy the village, hamlets, and châlets within the line of demarcation, which bounds his fold. With very few exceptions, where the Vaudois clergyman is first placed, there he is likely to remain for life. His stipend, his residence, and his charge, continuing the same, his duties, and his earthly recompence are at once understood, and if his heart be in the cause, which he undertakes to serve, he employs himself forthwith and evermore in taking that oversight of his flock, which, upon the principle of fixed residence, and parochial distribution, it is binding upon his soul to exercise diligently. Such charge and responsibilities become more or less heavy, according to the number of the population, and the manner in which it is spread over the surface of the territory to which the pastor is appointed[1]. In the case of Mr. Gay,

[1] "Not that any change of times or circumstances can vary the essential sacredness of ministerial obligation, nor heighten the motives, which are implied in that emphatic charge of the chief shepherd, 'feed my sheep.' Yet a diversity of places or seasons may render necessary different degrees of exertion and endurance

pastor of Villar, and of Mr. Muston, pastor of Bobi, the charge is necessarily laborious. The one having a congregation of 2000, and the other of 1700, dwelling in hamlets which are detached, always difficult of approach, and sometimes inaccessible, we cannot hesitate to ascribe the character of the true pastor to each of them, if we find them praying, preaching, catechising, rebuking, admonishing, and comforting, in the name of Christ crucified, not only in their churches, and in the habitations near their presbyteries, but in the distant dwellings also of their people; in the cottages upon the hill-sides and steeps, and in the châlets upon the mountain pasturages. An English clergyman accompanied the pastor of Bobi in a morning walk, towards some of the hamlets of his parish, which lay north of the village.—"We were out," said he, "ascending and descending from eleven o'clock in the forenoon, till past six in the evening, being exposed the whole time to a burning sun. However, thank God, I have not suffered from the expedition: *my companion seemed not to have the most distant notion of being tired*[1]." Does not this speak volumes in testimony of the Waldensian minister's habitual toil and labour, which

in the ministry of Christ, for the accomplishment of those great ends which all have in view."—*Bishop Blomfield's Charge*, 1830, p. 11.

[1] Mr. Jackson's Remarks on the Vaudois, p. 49.

had inured him to fatigue. The ground over which the two clergymen then walked, was but a very small part of the parish, which extends on that side to the summit of the Col Julien. It branches off on the south towards Mont Viso, and on the west it ascends to the very crest of the Cols de la Croix and Malaure, and the lofty ridge which separates Piemont from France.

I gathered these interesting particulars relating to the Protestant congregation of Bobi. Twelve hundred present themselves at the Lord's table, and are considered regular communicants.

It is rarely that any of the flock absent themselves from public service, for more than two or three Sundays together.

There is not a single instance of any of the Protestant population, who desert the public assemblies entirely.

Every child in the parish, of sufficient age, is receiving education.

The number of Roman Catholics is between 70 and 80. Half of these are strangers, custom-house officers, soldiers, charcoal burners in the forests, and their families.

Nearly every family has a New Testament, and one-third of the families have Bibles. There are 63 subscribers to the Auxiliary Bible Society, from 5 to 40 sous each.

There is a register of the names, habitation, age, and condition of every one of his flock, kept

by the pastor, and altered from time to time, as the occasion may require.

These assuredly are the outward indications at least of a good pastor; God only knows the secret and true condition of the heart, but when man forms his opinion, it must be from such signs as these. "The parson in his circuit," is one of the views which George Herbert directs us to contemplate, when we would form our estimate of the pastoral character. No man can render such an account of his congregation, as that which I have just exhibited, from the Speculum Gregis of Bobi, without being very frequently and diligently on his circuit.

Mr. Muston is Moderator Adjoint of the Vaudois, and consequently member of the Table, ex officio. He is thoroughly acquainted with the present position and wants of the Waldensian Church, and it is to him that the synod has entrusted the difficult charge of drawing up articles and regulations, for the improvement of the little community, which are to be submitted to the next assembly. I consulted him upon every measure which I thought might be beneficial, and calculated to promote the object of my journey to the valleys.

Mr. Muston's book-shelves contained many volumes, which belonged to an ancestor of his, M. Appia, who was ordained in London about a century ago; and among them some of the English divinity and ecclesiastical history of that day. He

reads English himself, but does not speak it; and it offers a goodly prospect for the spiritual interests of the Vaudois, that several of the pastors make a study of our language and literature, and entertain a high opinion of the theology of the English school of divinity. I have heard it observed more than once, in the valleys, that the works of the British divines, next to the Bible, are the main support of the Protestant cause.

I enquired of the pastor of Bobi, if he and the Curé are upon friendly terms? "We are not very sociable," was his frank reply, "but we live upon terms of harmony. When he first came into the parish, I expressed a wish that we might meet occasionally, and confer upon theological subjects; but he instantly put a bar to this, by telling me in plain words, that as he did not mean to try to make a proselyte of me, and as I should certainly not be able to convert him, we had better avoid all religious discussion."

Madame Muston is lineally descended from the heroic Jahier, and with all her extreme simplicity and gentleness of manner, she was evidently pleased when I alluded to this true nobility of her extraction. Jahier was the companion in arms of Janavel, or Gianavello, whom, in the language of one of those who has piously recorded his feats in 1655, "God raised up in those days, as a choice instrument of his own, for the preservation of the poor scattered remnant of his people." Jahier's

fame was not inferior to that of his comrade. His romantic adventures, terrible onslaughts, and successful surprisals, would fill a volume, and would be well worthy of the pen of the translator[1] of Henri Arnaud's "Rentrée Glorieuse."

Jahier died with his face towards the enemy, and with his hand upon his sword, and two of his sons with him, in an engagement with a body of horse in the vale of San Giovanni. The character of this patriot is thus summed up in one of the histories of the massacre of 1655: "He was most worthy of remembrance, and his fame to be renowned to all posterity, especially for his great piety, zeal for the service of God, and the protection of his poor afflicted Church and members; a man whom all the terrors of death and ten thousand torments could never affright or make to deny his Master. Bold as a lion in all his enterprises, but meek and humble as a lamb in the midst of his victories; always lifting up his hands towards heaven, from whence deliverance came, and reciting sweet and comfortable passages of the Scripture, wherein he was versed to admiration, to

[1] It would, indeed, require the experience of mountain warfare to give effect to a record of this kind; and as Mr. Acland has been personally initiated in "hair-brained enterprises," and "picturesque forages through mountain regions," among the Guerillas of Spain, and has moreover traversed every inch of Vaudois territory, who could better undertake it, "Arms and the man I sing," than himself?

the great encouragement of all his followers, and the strengthening of their faith upon all occasions."

Such was the ancestor, of whom the pastor's wife of Bobi has reason to be proud, and whom she resembles in meekness and humility of temper, and in the endurance of suffering; she is often tried by ill health, and I have seen her exert herself, as she did on the day of our visit to the presbytery, when every effort to appear cheerful was put forth in the midst of acute bodily pain. Her door, like that of Madame Bert at La Torre, is constantly open to the distressed wanderer; and I speak as a witness, when I add, that no petitioner goes unrelieved from the houses of the Vaudois clergy. Some dole of alms is sure to be received, when appeals are made to their charity; and be it remembered, that the mendicants who beg in the valleys are all strangers.

The mention of Madame Muston's honourable descent from the hero Jahier reminds me of an observation, which may not unfitly be introduced in this place. There are no distinctions among the Vaudois beyond that of pastoral and magisterial precedency. All the Vaudois give place to their clergy and syndics and elders. I could hear of no seigneurial rights or privileges; gentle and simple are merged in one. "Each man is the son of his own deeds." Family pride is consequently entirely out of the question; and the individual who has raised himself by his talents

or industry above his former station, or that of his kindred, displays no leaven of vanity. He speaks of his brothers or his sisters who may chance to be in a humbler state of life, without the least disguise, and he talks of the "paternal house," be it the merest hovel, with all the affection of hereditary attachment. I noticed two striking instances of this. A pastor pointed to a cabin, "There," said he, "I was born, and there my forefathers have lived for generations —my heart beats at the sight of it." A Waldensian, who had left the valleys early in life, and had accumulated a comfortable independency of his own, besides acquiring some property with his wife, conducted me to a humble farm house, and with a generous expression of complacency, spoke of the enjoyment which he felt in revisiting the sacred hearths of his ancestors.

There is no great man to throw the rest of the Vaudois in shade. There is not a chateau, or villa, in the three valleys, which would answer to our notions of a gentleman's seat, which is occupied by one who moves in the higher circles of society at Turin. It is many years since the Vaudois could enumerate any of noble birth [1] among the professors of

[1] The historian Leger, mentions in his autobiography, that his father's family was noble, and that by his mother's side, through the Laurens, the Rostains, and the Pascals, he could shew a sacerdotal line of Vaudois pastors for 400 years and more. Leger was born in 1615.

their faith. Gilles, the Waldensian historian, in his annals of the year 1617, makes mention of one, whose melancholy fate he describes at some length. This was the Lady Octavia Solara, the daughter of a nobleman of ancient and illustrious family, which had long been distinguished for its zealous adherence to the Protestant tenets. The father of this lady, after having suffered greatly from persecution, was stript of all his lands and property, and took refuge with his wife and children in the valley of Luserna:—"Après avoir souffert la confiscation de toutes ses Seigneuries, et autres biens à cause d'icelle Religion." The beauty and virtues of Octavia attracted the notice of the Count de Cavour, a man of great wealth and influence at the court of Turin, who promised not only to respect her religious opinions, and to permit her to enjoy the free exercise of her religion, but engaged to exert his interest for the restoration of the confiscated property of the family, if she would marry him. Contrary to the expostulations of the pastor of La Torre, who foresaw and predicted the result, she accepted the count's hand. Soon after their marriage, he used every means in his power to force her to conform to the Church of Rome. He took away her Bible and Psalm Book, and her other books of devotion; he prevented her having any communication with a spiritual comforter of her own faith, and drove her into a state of low melancholy, which

cut her off in the flower of her youth. A short time before she died, a female friend expressed a hope that she might yet recover. "Pray not for my recovery," said the noble lady, "but implore the Almighty to receive me while I am yet true to my crucified Saviour, and before weakness of mind or body shall reduce me to a condition, in which I may be so lost as to deny the Lord who bought me."

I wish to correct an error which appears in the notice of Bobi in my first narrative. I have there said, the break-water constructed to protect the village from the violence of the winter torrents, was erected by the aid of subscriptions raised in Holland. Mr. Muston shewed me a book of accounts, which goes like an heir-loom with the presbytery of Bobi, from which it appears that it was built by means of English contributions, after the fatal inundation in the year 1740. The sum remitted from England was 42,383 francs, or about 2503*l.*, according to the value of money and exchange at that time. This money was expended in making the digue, or mole, which still remains, and in assisting the sufferers who had been injured by the flood.

The central school of Bobi was not open, nor were any of the small schools, when we visited the village; but at Col. Beckwith's girls' school, we found several of the children industriously and usefully employed.

CHAPTER VIII.

Excursion to Rora. Face of the Country. Observations on the Extent of the Vaudois Territory. Luserna. The former Sufferings and present Prospects of Rora. The Silver Cup of Victor Amadée. The Fire-fly.

JULY 10. Rora is the most southern village of the whole Vaudois territory, and lies on the chain of mountains, which, rising from the vale of the Pelice, swell and sink in irregular elevations, till they form the lofty ridge which separates the valley of Luserna from that of the Po. I had not visited this eagle's nest in 1823, and the whole of the country on the other side of Luserna was new to me.

From the extreme confines of Rora, the furthest point south, or from the summit of the mountain line, which separates the valley of Luserna from the valley of the Po, to the summit of the Col Albergian, the furthest point north, the extent of the present Vaudois country, measured in a straight line, is about twenty miles, according to the scale laid down in Mr. Acland's map of the valleys, and twenty-four miles, according to that in Mr. Bridge's

map. From east to west, measuring from the confines of Prarustino to the summit of the Col d'Abriès above Prali, which bounds the Waldensian district on the side of France, the distance on Mr. Acland's map is sixteen miles, and on Mr. Bridge's twenty. It is exceedingly difficult to lay down the scale accurately, for I know of no map published at Turin, where, if any where, we should expect to find the most correct delineation of the country, which is faithful in all its parts. The large chart, drawn by Giuseppe Momo, and printed in 1819, is the best; but it is by no means free from mistakes, as I have ascertained by observations on the spot, with the chart in my hand. Comprising all the continental dominions of the king of Sardinia, it does not allow room enough to the province of Pinerolo, of which our valleys constitute a part, to admit of those minute delineations, which would help us to make a map of uniform accuracy. The best guidance is to consult conjointly the old maps of Leger and Morland, and the recent maps of Bridge and Acland; with these in his hand, the traveller, or reader, will be able to understand the face of the country correctly enough. The map which accompanies this volume is on Giuseppe Momo's scale, with a few alterations in the range of the lesser mountains, and in the position of the Vaudois villages, made in conformity with my own observation compared with the four maps, to which I have just alluded.

If we take twenty-two miles as the greatest length of the Protestant valleys, according to their present limitation from north to south, and eighteen miles as their greatest breadth from east to west, we cannot be far from the mark. But if the traveller should calculate his time of exploring the territory by these distances, he would be wofully mistaken. The surface varies greatly every quarter of a mile; ravines, precipices, mountains, torrents, and forests, turn the pedestrian out of his course, or impede his pace. The direction, in which the valleys may be most easily traversed, and which will take in the greater part of the population, is, from east to west-south-west, about seventeen miles in a straight line, that is, from the confines of San Giovanni to the frontier of France on the Col de la Croix, above the Alpine pasturage, called the Bergerie du Pra. This line of march would conduct the traveller with the course of the Pelice, through the populous communes of San Giovanni, La Torre, Villar, and Bobi. To Bobi the road is tolerably good, passable even to a carriage, if it be strong and will bear rough jolting; from thence to the French border, it is only practicable for muleteers and pedestrians. The time, required to go from point to point in this direction, for ordinary walkers, is about nine hours: of this it takes four hours to ascend from Bobi to Pra. There is, however, no one part of the Vaudois territory, from which, in case of a "gathering," a fleet-footed

Rora, its situation is such as to tempt a gallant band of mountaineers, determined upon the defensive, to rely upon its strong holds and fastnesses. Watch towers and battlements, as it were in the natural face of the cliffs, which give them the resemblance of a line of fortresses; passes, where two or three only can advance abreast; barriers already more than half constructed by masses of rock, as if placed there by the hand of Providence for the purpose: and situations formed for ambuscades, have often persuaded the people of Rora that their position was impregnable; and hence the desperate combats which took place, in the 17th century, between a handful of peasants and the troops of Pianessa and Christophel. Isolated as Rora is, these conflicts all ended unsuccessfully, however manfully the posts were contested for a time. The defenders of the village fell side by side. While fighting men were left, the enemy was driven back: but numbers prevailed, and twice in one reign did the Duke's soldiers march over the dead body of the last of its defenders, to pillage the ill-fated Rora, and to massacre, and inflict worse horrors upon its women and children, who became the prey, first to their worst passions, and afterwards to their swords!

If the people of Rora were formerly renowned, as a warlike community who preferred death to the mass, they are now likely to enjoy the praise of all the Churches, as a Christian congregation

beyond the hamlet of Fusine, it then becomes rugged and exceedingly steep; and after you pass Les Vernais, you find yourself so completely imprisoned by precipices on one side, and by rocks nearly perpendicular on the other, and in your front, that you begin to think you must have mistaken the path, and that there is no further progress to be made. I was alone when I first explored this quarter, and could not help asking myself in despair,—where can Rora be? In vain I looked about for some peasant to guide me. There seemed to be no possible approach to any village, in the line upon which I was moving. A projection of the rock concealed the track from me. But, upon advancing a little further, I came to a zig-zag path called a tourniquet, which ascends the mountain, "parvis componere magna," like the road across Mont Cenis. But in places it was not only climbing up-hill, but literally up-stairs, by steps cut in the rock.

The traveller, who will not only drag his weary way to the principal village of this commune, but will also clamber to its rock-built hamlets, to Rumero, and Arone, and Les Fournaisses, and to the cliffs called Le Bric, and Roccarossa, and others, too many to name, will find it no difficult matter to believe, that the inhabitants of Rora were able to defy their oppressors for many days together, and for a short time to resist assaults made by ten times their numbers. Unhappily for

grow out of evil. The effect of the Curé's meddling has been to stir up a zealous spirit among the Protestants of Rora. Subscriptions have been set on foot, plans have been designed, and it is probable that ere long a new temple will rear its head at Rora, larger and better situated, where the congregation may assemble more comfortably to themselves, and without the risk of giving umbrage to their sixty Roman Catholic neighbours. I saw the spot destined to be the site of the new building, and a list of contributors, Vaudois, and English, and others; and this, I trust, will be so increased in a few years, as to enable M. Monastier to have the first stone of the temple laid.

The presbytery is but an indifferent one. But it commands some fine mountain views. The upper windows look upon the craggy points of Mont Friolant, which are covered with snow eight months, and are sunburnt the remainder of the year.

It was in Rora that Victor Amadée, the scourge of the Vaudois, took refuge, when the French marched an army into Piemont at the beginning of the last century. Strange that the oppressor should fly to the oppressed, the wolf to the kid for succour, and find protection in a village, which had suffered in a more than ordinary degree under the tyranny of himself and his predecessors! Was it that he relied more upon the honour of the Vau-

dois, or more upon their sacred principle of loyalty, than upon that of his other subjects? Was it that there were no asylums, or no such inaccessible glens in other mountain regions, which called him king? Or was it that some cunning Ahithophel whispered to him, that his pursuers would never dream of searching for him among the people, whom he had most deeply injured, and whom he had chastised with whips and scorpions? Be it as it might, he found that which he sought, concealment and protection. A Vaudois received him kindly, and kept his secret faithfully. Had the man proved a betrayer, he might have received his house full of gold as the price of the royal fugitive. The reward of his fidelity at the king's hand, was a present of the king's silver drinking cup, and some paltry permission to enclose a cemetery. When did Roman legates permit Vaudois to find real favour in the sight of the house of Savoy? No services, no loyalty could atone for the crime of non-conformity.

The family of the king's protector have fallen into poverty. Some ten years ago, so great was the distress of one of them, that a few francs, a few ten-penny pieces, were wanting to meet the urgency of his necessities. Was there nobody to remind him, that he had the drinking cup of Victor Amadée in his possession, emblazoned with the royal arms, and to tell him, that were he to present himself at the palace of the reigning sovereign, and to hold up

that token of a monarch's debt, that promissory note of recompense for value received, it would act as a talisman, and fill the heart of the descendant of Victor Amadée with generous intentions towards the descendant of that prince's protector? Perhaps he was so advised: but who, with the brand of Vaudois on his forehead, would be so sanguine, so credulous as to go to Turin upon such an errand? No, no! The mountaineer dare not even entertain the thought. But something must be done to relieve immediate distress. The silver cup was taken to Pinerolo, and sold, or pawned for twelve francs!!! What a reflection upon the donor and his successors! Could it have been hoped, that there breathed in the heart of any of them the slightest sentiment of kindness towards the Waldensian Church, the peasant would have starved, one must think, before he would have parted with such a relic. At all events he would have found some, aye hundreds, among his countrymen, who would have filled the cup with francs, had they sold house and land, and given them in exchange for it. The Vaudois are loyal, in the spirit of religious submission to the powers that be, but there can be little love mingled with their obedience. I tried to find out what had become of the cup, and how the purchaser had disposed of it, but without success.

It was late in the evening before I left Rora on my return to San Margarita. A bright moon, and

a clear starry sky, and the balmy air of Italy, tempted me to walk leisurely, and to enjoy the serenity of the hour. When I reached the groves about Luserna, I was rejoiced by the sight of myriads of fire-flies, that most capricious and beautiful of all the wonders of the insect world. Lalande, in his "Voyage en Italie," has dwelt with delight upon the impression produced on his mind, when he saw the fire-fly for the first time. "The first spectacle," says he, "which announced a change of climate, was that of those luminous insects called 'lucioles,' or 'luccioli;' it was on the 15th of June, a lovely night, when the air appeared to be on fire with these little phosphoric animals, which are unknown on our side of the Alps. I saw them sparkling by millions: the meadows, the trees, the hedges, the roads, were studded with them, as with so many diamonds, more lively, and infinitely more numerous, than the glow-worms which we have in France."

Lalande could not have been more animated by the vision than I was. The brilliant lights which they emit, their rapid flitting motion through the air, and the cheerfulness which they impart to the spirits, by engaging us to watch for their playful illumination, are quite indescribable. There is no difficulty in catching them; and I had the satisfaction of carrying one home with me, and gazing at its mysterious lamp without doing it that injury,

which the poor butterfly, and too many other beautiful insects experience, as the penalty they are condemned to pay for the ephemeral enjoyment of their splendid exterior. I placed it on a book in a dark room, and could distinctly read the words which were within the rays of its light. But the light was not so bright, as when it was on the wing and in quick motion; it was more mellow, and like that of the glow-worm, in its state of rest, but I did not perceive it to be in any degree intermittent. The light proceeded from the tail or lower part of the body, and the phosphoric segment is not above one-fourth of its whole dimension. Its antennæ were filiform, and the segments of the abdomen terminated in folded papillæ, lapping over each other. It was a little more than half an inch in length.

It is not easy to account for the silence of the ancient poets upon this most extraordinary insect. Its rapid movements and vivid sparkling beauty, the season and hour and place of its appearance are all poetical, and how it could have escaped the notice of Anacreon and Horace, and their tuneful brethren, is a question which will continue to puzzle the imagination of the critic and entomologist. Some have fancied that the fire-fly, like the orange-tree, was not known in Greece and Italy in early times; that it is one of those new animals, with the production of which Nature amuses herself

occasionally in her fantastic moods. I have seen this conjecture discussed in one of the periodical works of the day, but I forget in which.

It is, however, an error to suppose that the fire-flies were unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans. Aristotle mentions them under the name πυγολαμπαδας, and distinguishes them from the glow-worm, by saying that these were winged, the others not[1]. Pliny also speaks of them, and calls them "cicindelæ," and takes care to describe them as having wings, and thus differing from the glow-worm. The Greeks, he says, called them "lampyrides." Pliny admires the benignity of Nature[2], which has bountifully produced these brilliant insects, to encrease the beauties of the lovely season, in which they usually make their appearance.

[1] Aristotle's Hist. Ani. Lib. iv. cap. 1.

[2] "Lucent ignium modo noctu, laterum et clunium colore lampyrides, nunc pennarum hiatu refulgentes, nunc vero compressu obumbratæ, non ante matura pabula, aut post desecta conspicuæ." Plin. Lib. ii. cap. 34.

"Atque etiam in eodem arvo est signum illius maturitatis, et horum sationis commune, lucentes vespere per arva cicindelæ. Ita appellant rustici stillantes volatus—Græci vero lampyrides incredibili benignitate Naturæ." Lib. xviii. cap. 66.

CHAPTER IX.

The new Church of San Giovanni. Restraints imposed at the Restoration of the House of Savoy, in 1814. *Girls' School at San Giovanni. Female Education in the Valleys.*

THE third Sunday after my arrival in the valleys, (July 12) I attended public service at the church of San Giovanni. The venerable pastor, M. Mondon, used the old Genevan liturgy; his prayer before the sermon was extempore, and was poured forth with a considerable degree of devotion. The principal object of his sermon, from Acts x. 2, was to promote a local charity. The application of the clause "with all his house," was enforced with great judgment and feeling, especially where the preacher explained that there can be no true spirit of public piety, where religious duties are neglected at home; and that we must begin by managing our domestic affairs with prudence and economy, or we cannot hope to have the means of answering those demands upon our benevolence, which put Christian sincerity to the test. M. Mondon is not far from fourscore years of age, and he is one of those

Vaudois clergymen, who have often crossed the Alps, at all hazards, to be the bearers of spiritual comfort to the forlorn remnant of the ancient Waldensian Church of Dauphiné. Previously to the year 1786, the Protestants of the Val Queiras and Val Frassyniére, could only obtain the succours of the Church by stealth. Terrible penalties were inflicted on those who administered, and on those who received, the sacraments otherwise than after the ritual of Rome, and it was to "feed the sheep" in these remote folds, that M. Mondon, and others of his brethren of the valleys, made frequent journeys into France. When the new Protestant Church of Frassyniére was consecrated a few years ago, M. Mondon was present. He had traversed the barriers of France and Italy, to enjoy the cheering sight of a new order of things, and to behold the members of the little community, with whom he had often prayed in private, offering up their praises and supplications to Almighty God publicly, and in a sanctuary of their own.

This aged pastor yet retains the vivacity of his earlier days; his manner in the pulpit was both expressive and impressive, and he had all the appearance of being deeply in earnest. It is said that he is severe and inflexible upon some points, where it would be better to yield and to conciliate, to bear and to forbear. Whether this be the case or not, I do not choose to take upon myself to determine. I cordially subscribe to the

sentiments expressed by an English friend, who wrote to me thus, from the valleys: "For myself, I only wish to benefit the Vaudois population. It is not my province to be a bearer of evil report. Whatever defects may exist, I feel how much a body of men deserve respect, who, like their forefathers, have constantly opposed the enormous corruptions of Rome."

The church of San Giovanni, spacious though it is, was nearly full, and a heart-stirring sight it was, to behold such a congregation of Waldenses gathered together in a parish, from which persecution has so often chased the brethren: and in a sanctuary, which the Romish clergy have used their utmost endeavours to put down. It is a noble building, perhaps the most handsome and substantial in the valleys, in form resembling a horse shoe, about 100 feet long and 60 wide, very lofty, large enough to contain 2000 persons, and, with the exception of a strong echo, well calculated for the purposes to which it is adapted. Like most churches on the continent, it is fitted up with seats and benches open to all. There are no pews, those worst introductions of the worst times, whether you consult taste, utility, or piety, and which, with the exception of a very few new churches in England, continue to be the disgrace and deformity of our sacred buildings. Even many of our cathedrals have admitted them.—Wherever pews occupy the whole or the greater

portion of the space in churches, it is as much as to say, "Here the privileged may come to hear the word of God, but there is not room, or there is not accommodation for the poor, that they may have the Gospel preached to them—it would be inconvenient to the few to throw open the house of God to the many."

It is the glory of the Roman Catholic Churches, that they receive all who enter them, upon a footing of equality, and it is cheering and edifying to gaze upon the multitudes that fill them, kneeling, or sitting, or standing side by side, as they may chance to go in and to place themselves; high and low, rich and poor, one with another: and were individual inclinations and interests to be sacrificed to public considerations, and were our own parish churches to be entirely thrown open, as "free sittings," there is no doubt that the Sunday congregations of the Establishment would soon become what they ought to be[1].

The history of the new Waldensian Church at San Giovanni is memorable. Many have been the struggles between the Roman Catholic and

[1] In proof of this, a large chapel, called the Galilee, at the west end of the Cathedral of Durham, has been fitted up, as a free chapel, for Sunday evening service, during the summer season. The first comer takes his seat, the tradesman and his employer, the servant, the workman, and his master, the peasant and the gentry of the neighbourhood, sit by each other as accident may dispose of them, and no where is there a more numerous congregation in proportion to its size.

Protestant interests in this commune. The ministers of the dukes of Savoy and kings of Sardinia have insisted, that San Giovanni is not within the privileged limits of the valleys; and obstinate have been the claims on one side, and the refusals to concede them on the other. At last, in the seventeenth century, there was a sort of compromise. The Protestants of this commune were permitted to erect a temple, not within their own parish, but just upon the edge of it, in one of the hamlets of Angrogna, and hither they continued to resort, till Piemont was annexed to France. The inhabitants of San Giovanni then built for themselves this new church, in the centre of their population, and at the cost of about 60,000 francs; and great were the rejoicings and the congratulations thereat. But when the king of Sardinia was restored to his Piemontese dominions in 1814, the evil spirit of Rome pounced like a hawk upon its prey in the valleys, and the court was advised to issue an edict, which at once reduced the Vaudois to their former degraded and oppressed condition, in violation of the treaty of Paris [1], which guaranteed all their rights of person

[1] Art. XVI. "The high contracting powers, desirous of burying in entire oblivion the dissensions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise, that no individual, of whatever rank or condition he may be, in the countries restored and ceded by the present treaty, shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, in his person or property, under any pretext whatever," &c. &c.

and property to the inhabitants of the ceded and restored provinces. Among other inflictions, the closing of the new church of San Giovanni was peremptorily commanded; an appeal was made to the Protestant ambassadors at the court of Turin, and the prayer of the petitioners, supported by the remonstrances of the representatives of the kings of England, Netherlands, and Prussia, more especially of the latter, so far prevailed as to obtain a suspension of the order, and the church now continues open by sufferance. The letter[1] of the Intendant

[1] "MONSIEUR,

"S. E. le Comte Vidua, Régent pour S. M., le Sécrétaire de l'Intérieur, par sa lettre du trois Oct. dernier, en me transmettant les Patents Royals du 30 Sep. précédent, concernant les Vaudois, me charge de donner plusieurs dispositions pour leur exécution, parmi lesquelles il y a celle de faire clorre les temples par les mêmes batis hors de limites fixées par les Edits, et autres lois, qui ont été remises en vigueur par l'Edit du 21 Mai dernier. C'est à vous, Monsieur le Modérateur, que je m'addresse pour l'exécution de cette disposition. Veuillez en occuper de suite, et m'instruire, au plutôt possible, des mesures que vous aurez prises pour que je puisse en rendre compte au Sécrétariat d'Etat, en m'indiquant en même tems ceux des temples qui se trouvent dans ce cas. Agréez, Monsieur, des sentimens de la haute estime et considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être, Mr. le Modérateur,

"Votre tres dévoué et très ob. ser.

"CROTTI.

"*Pignerol le 25 Nov.* 1814.

"P.S.—Je pense, qu'il suffit de ne plus ouvrir le temple bâti hors les limites, d'aviser aux moyens de vous réunir ailleurs, et

of the province of Pinerolo, the Count Crotti, addressed to the moderator of the Vaudois on this subject, explained the rigid restraints which the court of Turin intended to put upon the Vaudois, as one of the first enactments of the restoration, and the first fruits of papal influence,—of the interference of a foreign bishop, directing independent sovereigns how to treat their native subjects.

If priestly intrigue did not so often guide the court of Turin, the Vaudois would enjoy some tranquillity, for it does not appear that the severities which vex them originate in the royal breast, or in any of the members of the government. They invariably grow out of evil counsel whispered into the king's ear by the jealous clergy of the Latin Church. A presbytery has at length been built for the pastor of San Giovanni, near the church, an indulgence which was long refused in accordance with the advice of the royal confessors. It is a well-built and comfortable habitation, but the garden is very small and unprotected. M. Mondon, in his humorous style, compared the presbytery and its dependencies to the handsome

de prévenir ceux de votre religion de l'endroit que vous aurez choisi, sans en venir à des publications qui pourroient faire de la peine à plusieurs. Je vous prierois cependant, Mr. le Modérateur, de vouloir bien me faire une réponse détaillée du jour de la cloture, qui datera du dernier jour de votre réunion, afin que je puisse rendre compte au plutôt au Bureau d'Etat, pour les affaires intérieures, de l'exécution des ordres, qui m'ont été transmis par la lettre du 3 Oct. sus-énoncée."

form of Ulysses clothed in a beggar's dress. His observations upon the commandments of the decalogue in his church, written on paste-board, were equally piquant. "On serait porté à croire," said he, "qu'ils participent à la nature de la substance qui les porte : le papier se déchire si facilement."

M. Mondon takes much delight in the girls' school which has been established in his parish, and pays great attention to it.

It was many days before I had an opportunity of visiting either of the four girls' schools instituted by the London Committee, because, at the busy season of collecting the cocoons of the silk worms, hay-making, and harvest, the children were not regular in their attendance. That of San Giovanni was the first to resume its activity, and to give me an opportunity of judging of its usefulness. It is situated within a few minutes' walk of the church and presbytery, and is approached in that direction by meadows and fields, which command fine prospects of that which Leger has truly called the lovely Costiére of San Giovanni. The reader must not wonder, that I should so frequently make allusion to the beauties of the landscape in this region ; perhaps I saw it with a very favouring eye, for in truth I was in a mood to enjoy all around me, and to exclaim—

"There is every where beauty, and every where light."

The "Costiére" is the sunny side of the valley, to distinguish it from "L'Envers," which faces the north.

The approach to this spot, (which is not the fixed seat of the little establishment, for there are not the means of providing more than a salary for the school-mistress, who must procure a room for her use out of the stipend) from La Torre, is first through a vineyard to the right, after crossing a stream, within half a mile of the church, and by a path which traverses corn-fields, and conducts to a farm in the occupation of the father of the young woman, Pauline Muston, who is the teacher. The chamber, appropriated to the use of herself and scholars, is sufficiently large and airy; and for all the purposes of health, cleanliness, and convenience, a better choice could not have been made, than the site both of the farm and the room itself.

When the children began to assemble with more regularity, I made several visits to this school, and had every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which it was conducted. The mistress seemed to take real interest in her charge, and the children had made quite as much progress as could be expected from their age and several abilities. Some were at needlework, some marking, and others knitting, and while these were at their employments, one of the scholars was reading to them out of the New Testament. The

average number, about twelve, was not so great as I should have looked for. Twenty-eight had been entered upon the list in the course of the last twelve months; but I could collect, that the system had not yet been tried long enough to secure the confidence, or to remove the prejudices of the people, who seem to prefer the old plan of sending their daughters to the central and hamlet schools. There are reasons for this. It is supposed there that female teachers are not so competent to instruct as the masters. The very great poverty, which is experienced in some of the families, occasions an inability to provide their children with the materials for work in the girls' school, without which it would be useless to send them. This will in future be obviated in part, by an allowance made by the London Committee, for the express purpose of supplying the schools with such materials. There is some reluctance also arising out of the superior neatness and cleanliness exacted of those, who now attend. The appearance of the scholars of the girls' school, being somewhat above that of the generality of children, makes the ill-provided ashamed of joining their ranks. These objections will wear off in the course of time: the good example, and habits of attention to personal and household neatness will spread by degrees, and the great advantage will be appreciated of having their young females instructed in a manner more becoming their sex, and in being directed

at an early age to the study of things necessary to make them useful in their families. In a rustic and mountain population, like that of the Vaudois, these considerations are commonly too much neglected, and the peculiar training, which girls ought to receive, is left to chance. It was to correct this evil, and to give them opportunities which they had never before enjoyed, that these new institutions were devised.

The Countess Fontana was, I believe, the first person, who applied a benefaction for the especial object of improving the state of female education in the valleys. This lady devoted 200 francs, or 8*l.* a-year, towards the payment of a school-mistress for the commune of San Giovanni, and to the judicious and warm-hearted friend of the Waldensian Church, Mr. Bridge, treasurer of the London Vaudois Committee, grateful thanks are due, for the zeal with which he directed the attention of the committee to this important object. It was mainly owing to his representation, that those resolutions were adopted, which led to the appropriation of 40*l.* a-year towards the endowment of four girls' schools, on the 1st of August, 1826, viz. four pounds annually to that of San Giovanni, to make the stipend 12*l.*, aided by the contribution of the Countess Fontana; and 12*l.* each to the school at Villar, to that of San Germano, in the valley of Perosa, and to that of Clots, in the commune of Villa-secca, in the valley of San Martino. These

are situated in the most central spots that could be found[1]: but there is still a great want of similar

[1] The following extract, from the Report of the London Committee, published March 1830, will put the reader in possession of further particulars relating to the three schools endowed by the Committee, at Villar, San Germano, and Clots:—

"*Villar, situated nearly in the centre of the Valley of Lucerne.*

"It was thought that the girls' school in this village would be convenient for such as might choose to attend from Bobi, and the western hamlets of La Tour and Rora. A girls' school is, however, now instituted at Bobi, by Colonel Beckwith; and the inhabitants of Rora find themselves too remote, or too poor, to send their children to Villar.

"The mistress is the widow Laurenzat. The school-room is rented at 40 francs per annum, and is small and inconvenient: but there are difficulties in the way of enlarging the present room, or building a new one.

"The population deriving benefit from this school is that of Villar only—about 2000. The greatest number on the list has been 36.

"The foregoing statement will shew that Rora is the only village in the valley of Lucerne, which has not the advantage of a girls' school; and it is earnestly to be wished that one could be provided for that mountainous and secluded commune.

"*St. Germain, in the Valley of Perouse.*

"The vicinity of this village to Rocheplatte, Prarustin, and Pramol, pointed it out as a fit spot for one of these schools. The rugged paths of Pramol are almost impracticable for children in bad weather; and those who attend the school are chiefly natives of St. Germain, whose population is 1000. The mistress, the widow Long, pays 60 francs for the rent of her apartments. She is indefatigable, and capable—an example of

institutions in many parts of the valleys; which are cut off by distance, or other difficulties of access, from the benefits of those which are now in operation. I have already mentioned that Colonel Beckwith has established a girls' school at Bobi. It was opened in the presence of the pastor and

the sort of teacher who is required for these institutions. The number of scholars in attendance has at no time exceeded 20, and averages 12.

"As it is not likely that the inhabitants of the hamlets of Pramol will be able to render the school at St. Germain serviceable to themselves, it is to be hoped that some means will be found of promoting female education in that quarter.

"*The School at Clots, in the Valley of St. Martin.*

"This was meant to extend its usefulness to the other hamlets of Villeseche, and to Pomaret on one side, and to Riclaret and San Martin on the other, including a population of more than 2000; but it is found to attract none but those who are in the immediate neighbourhood. The average number of children, 11.

"The school-room is airy and well situated; and held by the mistress, Madame Bretzi, at a rent of 30 francs. As a central spot, it is the best that could be found for the district for which it was intended; but the hamlets in this region are so scattered, so distant from each other, and so difficult of access at certain seasons of the year, that it cannot be expected to be numerously attended.

"The villages in the remoter part of this valley, Maneille, Macel, Rodoret, and Pral, containing a population of 2400, are entirely cut off by distance from the benefit of either of the institutions which have hitherto been established; and it will be for the committee to consider whether any thing can be done to place this indigent, and comparatively neglected district upon an improved system."

elders, after a suitable prayer and address to the mistress and children, on the 2nd of January, 1829. Similar establishments were set on foot through the exertions made by Mr. Sims, at La Torre, Angrogna, and Prarustino; but I am afraid that the two latter are likely to be discontinued for want of funds necessary to support them. It will, indeed, be grievous, if such blessings must be withdrawn, after they have been experienced and appreciated. That at La Torre is extremely well regulated and managed.

The following are the regulations by which these schools are conducted.

The mistresses must be qualified to teach reading, writing, needlework, knitting, and the works necessary to the duties of the sex. Salary, 300 francs a-year.

The number conveniently admissible at each school, is supposed to be twenty-five, but it is not strictly limited.

All classes of children are eligible for admission, but none should be received without the approbation of the pastor.

The children of the villages and hamlets in the vicinity of those, where the school is held, are admissible.

In summer, the school hours are from 8 to 11, and from 1 to 4. In the winter, from 9 to 12, and from 1 to 3.

The success of the institutions depending upon

the Divine blessing, the school must begin and end with prayer every day.

One child shall be reading a portion of Scripture, while the rest are engaged in needlework, &c.

The work of one day in the week shall be devoted to the benefit of the hospital or dispensary, the materials for such work being provided for the purpose.

CHAPTER X.

Deliberations on the Restoration of some of the ancient Institutions of the Vaudois.

After spending three weeks in the valley of Luserna, I was anxious to make a circuit of the upper valleys of San Martino and Perosa, with the intention of conferring with the pastors there, upon the projects which I had now well considered, in concert with those of the lower valleys to whom I had communicated them.

M. Bonjour, the pasteur-chapelain, who was entirely in my confidence, offered to accompany me, to explain the objects I had in view, and the proposed destination of the funds placed at my disposal. These were not any part of a public subscription, but private funds, over which I had the sole control, and which I might appropriate in such manner, as should appear to me to be most beneficial to the Protestant cause in the valleys of Piemont.

After much reflection and long deliberations with persons competent to give an opinion, I was

encouraged to hope that a scheme which combined the endowment of a college, with the restoration of an uniform church service and discipline[1], upon old Waldensian principles, would be sanctioned and promoted, not only by the Vaudois pastors individually, but also by the officers of the Table, in their official capacity, as the constituted authorities of the community, and by the people at large. In this there was nothing new or offensive to common prejudices, it was simply a recurrence to the ancient order of things, and a response to the public voice, which had long said, "Give us, if possible, our former institutions—those institutions which made our 'Zion the city of God, and the mountain of his holiness.'"

The means, which I had at command were sufficient to lay a foundation, and to promise success, provided the plan should meet with approbation, and be well seconded by the Vaudois themselves. There were these reasons for supposing that it would be well received.

The Vaudois had formerly a college of their own, to the recollection of which they still hold with national fondness, although not a vestige of its existence remains. It has often been in con-

[1] The 11th article of the synod, held September 1828, was to the following effect: "a communication having been made to the synod touching, 'un projet de discipline ecclésiastique,' Resolved that this project be revised, and presented at the next synod." Thus the question had been already agitated.

templation to restore it, but there has never yet been any helping hand to enable them to do so. When the Waldenses were in treaty with Henry IV. in 1592, at the time of the annexation of the province of Pinerolo to France, it formed one of the articles, " that His Majesty should be pleased to found, erect, and maintain a college for the instruction of the youth in their own valleys."— Brezzi, to whom I have often alluded, pressed this object upon his countrymen, and their benefactors, about forty years ago, with all the eloquence and argument which he could employ, and about eight years ago a similar project was handed about the valleys.

An institution, (call it by what name you will, a college, or a superior school, in the modest terms suggested by the Vaudois themselves) re-established upon a comprehensive system, might give a stir to the whole body, and might also produce an impulse, not only in the immediate vicinity, but also in other parts. For this purpose, it must be so conducted, as, 1st. to give a sound preparatory education to the young men intended for holy orders; 2dly. to train school-masters: and, 3dly. to instruct youth destined to other professions, in such branches of knowledge as may be necessary to their success in life.

Brezzi attributed the alleged degeneracy[1] of the

[1] Those who complain most of the degeneracy of the Vaudois, guard their observations, by adding, that it is in comparison

Vaudois, to the foreign education of their clergy, and to their banishment from home at an early age. Leger in 1662, and Timoleon Peyrani[1], in his pamphlet published in 1825, ascribed it to a departure from that ancient discipline, which had the effect of keeping up both clergy and laity to the high mark of primitive simplicity.

Each of these writers has recommended a renewal of those ecclesiastical regulations, which had the effect of preserving sanctity of life and conversation. "It is necessary," says the latter,

with the old Waldenses, and not with other Christians, that the present Vaudois sink in estimation. "These blots," said Brezzi, "are inevitable to human weakness. Perhaps we are falling into the common error of supposing that our ancestors were so much better than ourselves. But I may proclaim, that Europe does not produce a people of such good faith, simplicity, and kind-heartedness as the Vaudois: they entertain a veneration for religion, and a purity of morals, which are not to be found among any other Christians."

"If the Vaudois have degenerated, it is from the virtue of their ancestors: compared with other nations, they are equal to them, or rather they excel them in the regularity of their lives and conduct." Considérations, &c. par T. Peyrani.

[1] Timoleon Peyrani's work, Considérations sur les Vaudois, gives a curious instance from Thuanus, of the origin of the first law-suit among the Vaudois, arising out of education by strangers. A peasant who was a little richer than his brethren, sent his son to the university of Turin. The young man, upon his return to the valleys, persuaded his father to prosecute a neighbour for the recovery of the amount of some damage done to his land by the man's cattle.

" to put in force some articles of our ancient discipline: the relaxation of these, and the want of that surveillance which formerly kept us in order, account for much of that which is illaudable." This, then, must be considered the second desideratum, that the Moderator's visitations be conducted with more regularity and authority.

The present ecclesiastical government of the Vaudois, is, in some degree, like that of the Presbyterian Church, but more relaxed and indulgent. Anciently it was episcopal[1]; a fact which is traced in some of their documents, and more particularly in the writings of their adversaries,—Reinerus for example [see p. 116]. That this jurisdiction has been banished from them, was their misfortune

[1] The Vaudois, like the members of the early Church, are common people. Cut off from the distinctions and luxuries of society, they are also removed from its temptations. It is for this reason their church government continues to be popular. It is most probable, that even while their ecclesiastical polity was episcopal, that their bishop possessed no powers, except those of ordination and censure, independently of the Synod. Hence their bishops make no figure in history. At present their moderator does not even ordain, nor does he seem to exercise any authority, unless in conjunction with the Table, at the Synod, as president.

Each church, by its own consistory, composed of minister, deacon, and elders, manages its own affairs in ordinary matters, and never receives a pastor, but by its own consent. In some cases, indeed, parishes, for peace-sake, have acquiesced in appointments made by the Table and Synod, when they were not altogether to their satisfaction, but still their consent was implied.

and not their choice. It is not exactly known at what time, or by what means, the original polity was changed; but, at the latter end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, we find the Moderator of their Church, as the chief ecclesiastical minister was then, and is now called, ordaining by the imposition of hands, and visiting each parish every year, and censuring, or approving, and reporting to the Synod. The clergy from France and Switzerland, who supplied the places of those whom the plague had cut off, were not friendly to the rigid superintendence of the Moderator. The visitations, by degrees, became little more than matter of form: the young men educated in Switzerland are now ordained in Switzerland, and recognised by the officers of the Table first, and by the Synod afterwards, and then commence their functions, as their services may be required, or vacancies in the churches may occur. Education at home, ordination at home, and a system of church government upon the principles which their best authors, and most esteemed living pastors recommend, would be followed by many other things which are allowed to be desirable.

A third desideratum is a uniform Church service or formulary. Anciently the Vaudois had a liturgy of their own; they now adopt the books of prayer in use among the Swiss Churches. There can be no inroad upon public opinion, or great innovation, in attempting to introduce a liturgy, which

shall be common to all their congregations. The Vaudois with whom I was in communication, thought it would be a boon worthy of acceptance, to procure a liturgy to be compiled by members of the Waldensian Church, and to print a quantity of copies sufficient for gratuitous circulation among the families of the three valleys, with a certain number of larger type for the churches[1].

It was naturally a great object with me, not only to obtain the general consent of the Vaudois for the introduction of an uniform liturgy, but that this liturgy should be formed, in part at least, after the model of that of the Church of England[2].

In this I felt that I was supported by the opinions of some of the ablest and most judicious divines of the Protestant body. Ostervald, whose name is dear to all the Reformed Churches in Europe, when he was consulted upon the design

[1] "Many certainly wish for a fixed liturgy of their own, and disapprove of many little irregularities which have crept in." Bracebridge's authentic details of the Valdenses, p. 138.

[2] I did not recommend the Vaudois clergy to adopt the English Liturgy entirely, but to see what part of it might be useful and edifying among themselves, in conjunction with parts of the liturgies now in use, and thus to compile a formulary which might be generally approved. Mr. Sims had prepared the way for this, by circulating a sheet containing prayers and collects from the English ritual, translated into French. These were very much admired.

of introducing a liturgical service into the German and Swiss Churches, which should bear some conformity with that of the English Church, declared that he entirely approved of it, "For, by such means," said he, "it is reasonable to think, that a uniform liturgy may in time be admitted into all the Protestant Churches, which would indeed be a most noble and useful work."

At one period of our history, an opportunity presented itself of establishing a form of worship, as near as possible to that of the Church of England, in the dominions of the king of Prussia, which was lost in a manner almost unaccountable. It will not be out of place to mention the circumstance here[1].

At the beginning of the last century, the reigning king of Prussia, by the advice of Dr. Ursinus, an eminent divine of Berlin, with the title of bishop, and Dr. Jablouski, first chaplain to the king, and senior or superintendent of the Protestant Church in Poland, meditated the design of introducing a liturgy into the royal chapel and cathedral church, and then to leave it free to the other churches, to adopt it or not at the pleasure of the ministers and congregations. For this purpose a translation of the English liturgy was made, in preference to

[1] For the history of this proceeding, see Newcome's Life of Archbishop Sharp, Vol. I. p. 403—449. Vol. II. Appendix 2nd.

all others, and two copies were sent by order of the king of Prussia, one to the queen of England, (Anne) and the other to the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tennison; with the request that the English hierarchy would give their opinion, as to the correctness of the translation, and the expediency of the proposed measure. A gracious and satisfactory reply was received from Queen Anne; but, strange to say, no answer was given by the archbishop of Canterbury, and no notice was taken on the part of the English Church. It is supposed, either that the copy, and the letter which accompanied it, were not delivered at Lambeth, or that Dr. Tennison took longer time to consider of the matter, than suited the impatience of his Prussian majesty. This, however, is certain, that the king was exceedingly offended at the apparent neglect, expressed his disgust at the indifference manifested by the clergy of England, and suffered the matter to drop.

But Dr. Jablouski, whose heart was set upon the measure, (and whose wishes, to use his own solemn protestation, "proceeded neither from a desire of change, nor any other carnal motive, but from conviction of its utility, and from a sincere desire to glorify God, and to edify his Church,") would not give up the design, and he therefore opened a correspondence upon the subject with Sharp, archbishop of York, in 1710, through

the medium of Dr. Smalridge, afterwards bishop of Bristol [1].

Archbishop Sharp was the very man to enter warmly into an affair of this kind, for "no man," said his biographer, "had a more tender concern for the Reformed interests abroad, nor was more careful to preserve the beauty and order of the Church of England, that it might be a standing pattern for all other Protestants." In conjunction with this distinguished prelate, Dr. Sprat, bishop of Rochester, Dr. Robinson, bishop of Bristol, and afterwards bishop of London, Mr. Hales, who had been a great deal among the Reformed Churches in France and Germany, and was well acquainted with the sentiments of foreign Protestants, and some of the queen's ministers, endeavoured to redeem the opportunity which had been lost some years before.

The affair was discussed in the despatches, which were sent from the courts of London and Berlin. A letter received about this period, 1711, from Baron Prinzen, director of ecclesiastical affairs at Berlin, explained, that the king of Prussia and his clergy had, at one time, been exceedingly anxious

[1] "I hope," said Smalridge, "in a letter to the Archbishop," written expressly upon this subject, "your grace is making haste to town, and I am sure you will make the more haste, if you think that by being here, you can expedite a work, in which the honour of your own Church, and the edification of foreign Churches seem to be so much interested."

to establish a close union between their Churches and the Church of England, and that although their overtures had hitherto been neglected, they continued to entertain the same favourable dispositions. This led to a conference between the Prussian minister in London and Mr. Secretary St. John; and matters seemed to be in a fair train, for the latter directed the British ambassador at Berlin, to assure the king of Prussia, "that the English clergy were zealous in the cause, and that if former overtures met with a cold reception from any of that body, such behaviour was directly contrary to their general inclination, and to their avowed sense, as appeared evidently from the attempt which the Lower House of Convocation made some years ago, to join with the bishops, in promoting a closer correspondence between the two Churches."

Unfortunately, however, the time had gone by, many of the Prussian clergy had taken deep offence, first at the indifference manifested in England towards their proposal of adopting the English liturgy; and, secondly, at some injudicious zeal, which was displayed by the friends of the measure, in forcing other forms upon them, which were not equally acceptable. Queen Anne, the king of Prussia, and archbishop Sharp, died within a few months of each other, and then the plan fell to the ground entirely [1].

[1] The failure, in the first instance, was ascribed, by M. Bonet,

Dr. Jablouski was honest and discreet throughout the whole affair, from the first to the last. His principal anxiety was for the introduction of the liturgical service, under the persuasion, that when that was secured, the congregations would be brought over by degrees, and reconciled to other things, which then seemed unusual and strange to them.

His reasons for recommending the English liturgy to his countrymen, as the basis of their own, were those by which I was moved in my advice to the Vaudois: 1st. "That it was the most perfect of any used in the Reformed Churches; 2nd, That it was for the most part taken from the best antiquity; 3rd, That the Church of Neufchatel had succeeded, to the great satisfaction of the people, in ordering their public worship after the English manner, though somewhat shorter; 4th, That the word of God ought frequently to be read during Divine service, and the method of the English Church is excellent in this respect, where in the public prayer, the Old Testament is read once a year, the New three times, and the Psalms once a month."

One of this eminent man's observations applies

the Prussian resident in England, to the jealousy of the nonconformist party. "On the other hand," said he, "the Whigs, the Presbyterians, the Independents, and all the other nonconformists would look upon this conformity with great concern, as weakening and disarming their party."

peculiarly to that part of the Vaudois service, to which I have alluded, with some regret, in Chapter III. "That reading, which is among us, is not looked upon as a part of the service, and is only heard by those, who, through mistake, come into Church a little too early, and is done without devotion or respect, only to fill up the void time, till the minister comes in and interrupts it."

CHAPTER XI.

Excursion to the Upper Valleys. The Col Julien. Alps and Alpine Productions. The Germanasca—Prali—Anecdote. Rodoretto. Massel. The Balsi—Maneglia. Perero. Villa-Secca—Pramol.

July 13. With the intentions, which I have stated in the preceding Chapter, we set out on foot from Bobi, at five o'clock in the morning, on our way for the valley of San Martino, by the pass of the Col Julien, or Guiliano.

The journey was considered too fatiguing for Mrs. Gilly, and leaving her with the amiable family at San Margarita, my brother and I slept the preceding evening at the presbytery of M. Muston, and were joined at day-break by M. Bonjour, and a guide, named Melli, who had accompanied Messrs. Brockedon and Magrath in some of their exploratory visits to the passes of the Alps in this quarter [1].

[1] I very much regret that Mr. Brockedon has not yet illustrated any part of this fine country, in the same style in which he has brought other Alpine regions into notice. The fidelity of his views, and the exact delineation of the country, in his

The ascent of the mountain commenced immediately from Bobi. Our route lay nearly due north, and as in the case of almost all tracks over the higher mountains, we followed the line of a torrent, which rises on the Col Julien, and falls into the Pelice. After passing through some small grass fields shaded with chesnut-trees, we pursued our way by an abrupt and steep path, towards Puy, or Poi. To our left, on the other side of the torrent, rose the conical and aspiring Mont Barrian, upon whose sides nature and man seem to have had a terrible conflict. But the latter has at length prevailed, and has built his habitation, and sown his corn on spots, where even the soil would be carried away by the elements, but for the walls and terraces which are erected at immense labour to protect them. Seen at a distance, the cabins, and the winding paths which lead to them, and the plots of land under cultivation, appeared to be upon the very edge of precipices, and the latter so small, as scarcely to be worth all the risk and toil by which they are rendered productive. Most probably we were deceived by the great space which lay between us and these objects. They were picturesque beyond all description.

But while we indulge our admiration at the sight of cliff-built cottages, and patches of grain

maps at the end of each number, render his work one of great utility to those who have occasion to consult it.

in situations, where none but animals of the chase have a natural claim to the ground, we cannot but condemn the policy, which has driven an industrious population to seek resting places in such wilds, instead of inviting them to descend into the plains, and to employ their enterprising spirit where it would have a more meet reward.

Almost every hundred yards, as we advanced, brought us to a change of scene. At one time the living rock was under our feet, and suspended over our heads. At the next moment a rood of green herbage or ripening wheat relieved the eye. Now a bare surface, and there a grange, with a group of huts. Thus it continued, a succession of verdure and aridity, until we had passed beyond Puy and Armagliere. At Puy, there is a small old church, whose roof abutted upon our path, and upon which we sat for a few minutes to take breath. From Armagliere we descended into a deep basin, or amphitheatre of rocks, at the bottom of which the torrent was rushing, even at this time of the year, with great rapidity, though with no vast body of water. Again we ascended. At a grange called Moulin de Pontet, we were shewn a precipice down which a mule tumbled, but without doing himself much injury. It was supposed that the load on his back saved his bones. Above us, to the left, were the heights of Mendron, of which Arnaud took possession, before his bold attack upon Sibaud. The steeps were here extremely

precipitous, but some of them were covered with herbage, and we looked with terror at a woman cutting grass, and at an old man leading his cow to feed, where we supposed it scarcely possible to plant the foot in safety.

At no great distance from Giauzarant, the torrent divided. We took the left hand branch, and in one of the most desolate parts we met a woman, who asked us if we knew the owner of a pen-knife, which she had found eight months ago. In answer to our enquiry, why she imagined that we might be able to say who had lost it, she said she had been told the knife was made in England, and belonged to an Englishman. Every stranger in these regions, whose appearance denotes him to be above the rank of a peasant, is supposed to be from England. When the stupendous rocks of Garnireugna, and those called Les Aiguillets de Julien came in sight, we fancied that we were on ground which might be defended, for some time at least, against any force that could be brought against it; and it was here that a body of Piemontese troops were posted to dispute the entrance of Arnaud's men into the valley of Luserna. But they were panic struck at the first charge of the patriots, who had rendered themselves so formidable at the bridge of Salabertrand, [see Acland's translation of Rentrée Glorieuse, pages 65—79,] and fled after firing a few volleys, which killed one Vaudois. The spot where he was buried,

under a rock at Les Paussets, was pointed out to us, as the grave of a hero.

Amidst the ever-varying scenery on this day's route, after toiling over the rough bed of the torrent, we came to a bank of rhododendrons, on which we reposed for a few minutes, and then pushed our way up an acclivity, which seemed to have no end. If the tales of our guide, and the anecdotes, which he had to tell in illustration of almost every striking feature of the mountain, had not been of some assistance, we should have repented of our hard day's work, before we had half completed it. We arrived at the châlets of Julien, after four hours walking, and there breakfasted; and although the interior of these summer huts are not at all inviting in point of cleanliness, we were glad to be under the shelter of their roofs, from the burning heat of the sun. The Alp of Julien is just under the Col of the same name, and is one of those rich pasturages, to which you find yourself transported, as I have observed in another place, as if by magic, after having apparently left all verdure far behind you. To these spots the cattle are driven, and remain with the owners and their families, for three or four months. I counted forty cows and ten sheep, and was told that many hundreds are fed on this and the neighbouring Alps, which lie on this side of the chain that divides Piemont from Dauphiné.

I have here used the word *Alp* in its proper

and original acceptation, derived as it is from a Celtic term, which does not signify mountain *height*, but mountain *herbage*. *Alp*, or *Alpen*, as Simler has shewn, is grass-land on the higher mountains, on which the "herbage is not cut, and made into hay for winter use, but is fed off by flocks and herds sent to depasture there;" hence, "zu alp faren," is to lead cattle to the mountain pasturages, in which they remain near the summits for the three summer months [1].

With this meaning attached to the word, many of the slopes near the summits in the Vaudois territory are so called; as the Infernet Alp, the Pis Alp, the Crosena and Roussa Alps. It is on such verdant heights, that vegetation ascends much above the snow line, and that the traveller frequently crosses patches of snow, and many tracts of arid surface less favourably situated, before he comes to the green spots of which I am speaking. Here different grasses, clover, and heaths, (and, I believe, I may add the violet,) flourish in fertile soil, warmed by the sun's rays,

[1] Josiæ Simleri Valesiæ et Alpium descriptio, p. 175. See also, Procop. lib. 1. de bello. Got. p. 186. Ed. 1607. Eustath. ad Diony. περιηγ, page 42. Charta Guigonis And. an. 1222. tom. 2. Hist. Delph. p. 505. and other passages, quoted sub verbo Alpes, in Gloss. Med. et Inf. Latinitatis, to shew the meaning of the word Alp. In the ninth part of the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, under the word Alps, a note observes, "some authors derive Alp from Alb, a verdant height."

and moistened by snow water, seven thousand feet and upwards above the level of the sea.

The châlets on the Alp Julien were by no means so picturesque to the eye, as most of the Swiss châlets, as those on the Wengern Alp, for example; here they are built of stone, but there of the trunks and limbs of the pine, so disposed as to be equally pleasing to the eye, and proof against weather. But glad enough were we to lie down upon the hard seat, and to quench our thirst with milk in one of these hospitable cabins, before we proceeded to climb towards the elevated ridge that separates the valley of Luserna from that of San Martino, and the commune of Bobi from Prali.

This last ascent was not performed till past eleven o'clock: it was consequently under a flaming sun that we scrambled up the Col Julien, and more than once did we stop to rest our weary limbs. One of our party was so overcome by heat and fatigue, that whenever we stopped for a minute or two, he lay down and instantly fell asleep. Before we gained the summit we were joined by four robust peasants, whose bare heads, and arms, and legs, and rapid advance upon us, made us wonder what brought them there. They were crossing the mountain to cut grass on the other side.

Sultry as the weather was, yet the snow was still lying in places screened from the sun's

rays. When we reached the spine of the mountain, the aspect of the country was totally different on the other side. The steep by which we had ascended was without a tree; the one which we had to descend was at first bare of all vegetation for some hundred yards, but beyond this there were forests extending along the sides of the declivities, and plots of rich herbage enamelled with flowers. On one bank I counted seven different sorts. The rapidity of the descent towards Prali was such, that we found it necessary to proceed with caution; but, in the meantime, the four peasants set off at quick pace, and were far away and busily employed cutting the grass for which they came, long before we had reached the bottom of the first steep. This region is very productive of that which serves as winter fodder for the cattle, for we fell in with several groups of mountaineers, who had collected some large bundles of long grass mixed with moss, with which they were plodding their way home; and to judge from the distance we walked before we came to any habitations, they must have had much ground to traverse ere they arrived at the place where they began to cut it.

Having traced our way to the summit of the Col Julien by the course of a torrent, we descended towards the habitable part of the commune of Prali, by means of a similar guide; and first on one side of the Germanasca, and then on the other, we

journeyed on by the hamlets of Riba, Jourdaine, Pomiers, Orgiers, and Malzotti, till we reached Guigot, the hamlet where the Protestant church and presbytery stand. Prali, or the Prals, Les Prali, is the name of the commune, and there are two hamlets which are so called,—one high up towards the source of the Germanasca, and the other below Guigot. Guigot, as being the central and largest village, is called La Ville, and is so marked in some of the maps.

It was two o'clock before we arrived at the presbytery, and thoroughly tired we were. So much so, that while Madame Peyrani was kindly and busily employed in preparing dinner, my brother and I enjoyed a hearty siesta.

The day's march had been somewhat hard, for the heat was excessive, and the descent so rapid as to shake us from head to foot. But it was a day of great interest. We had crossed a mountain at a high elevation, and had had opportunities of noticing the peculiarities of two of those transversal valleys which exhibit most of the Alpine features, and have been acted upon, in a greater or less degree, by the force of water. It was interesting to trace the two streams on each side of the mountain; the one from its junction with the Pelice to its source —the other from its first rill to the impetuous rapids and deep pools of the Germanasca. We saw the infant condition of the latter, when he was nothing more than a fee-

ble gush from a bed of snow. Following the little streamlet, we came to a rent in the rocks, where others joined it: presently there was a second meeting of the waters, and then another, and another, till the channel became more marked and defined, and at length occupied the breadth of a mighty rushing torrent.

Another agreeable occupation, as we ascended and descended, was to notice the distribution of vegetation. In the nine hours spent between Bobi and Guigot, we had seen first the gradual disappearance of the larger trees, till nothing was left but dwarf shrubs, and then again the re-appearance of foliage, and trees of different species. At Bobi, the chesnut and the walnut are the giants of the wood; on the other side of the Col Julien, the pine rises supreme above the rest. As we climbed the mountain, every sort of grain vanished by degrees from our sight: as we approached the opposite vale again, wheat, and barley, and oats, greeted us on our way; but not any in a state of ripeness. The hues of gold were entirely gone: and we were in a new climate. The valley of San Martino is a month or six weeks behind that of Luserna.

A very little experience and observation will soon teach the traveller to conjecture, from the appearance of vegetation, the probable height of the mountains which he has ascended, or the elevation above the sea of the valleys which he

is traversing. He will see no oaks beyond 3,300 feet, or thereabouts. The chesnut seldom ascends above 2,400. The vine not more than 1,700. The olive and orange will only grow at the foot of the Alps, and principally near the coast. The birch and the pitch pine will flourish at an elevation of 4,500 feet; but the beech stops at about 4000. Of fruit-trees, the cherry may be cultivated as high as any; at 3000 feet. The alder ranges to 6000—the rhododendron as high. The dwarf willow can bear the greatest altitude. Barley, oats, and wheat, will sometimes grow at upwards of 5000 feet. Some of the finest pasturages are found at 7000; and there are many herbaceous plants and grasses which can bear the elevation of 7,600 feet.

Another way of judging of the probable height above the sea, is from the animals which are seen. The highest summits, and the most pointed tops of rock or ice are not too elevated for the bouquetin. The chamois does not ascend so high as the bouquetin; but he never finds his way into the plains. He is only to be seen on very lofty ridges and acclivities in the vicinity of the snow line. The marmot and white hare frequent the slopes of mountains, which are below the favourite haunts of the chamois. The fox does not like to mount higher than where he can find brakes and thickets to conceal him. The vulture and the eagle share the domains of the chamois; and the ptarmagan

those of the marmot; while the heath-cock and the grouse aspire no higher than the pine forests. The pheasant is found in great abundance in almost all the woody heights, which rise immediately above the valleys.

In our journey over the Col Julien, we frequently heard the shrill cry of the marmot, and saw one of them. But in vain did we keep an anxious look-out, under the hope of catching a view of a chamois: Melli thought he espied a young one, but if he did, we were not so lucky. Nor were we favoured with the sight of eagle or vulture; though we were so entirely within their region, that a crag was pointed out to us, where David David, a celebrated sportsman, had destroyed a nest and captured the mother bird. He shot at, and wounded the eagle herself, but could not approach nearer the nest, than to apply to it and its contents a bunch of lighted straw at the end of a long pole.

Our siesta and dinner at the presbytery restored to us our alacrity; and in the evening, we walked with M. Peyrani by the banks of the Germanasca to the lower Prali, where we called upon some of the pastor's friends, and enjoyed the conversation and frank manners of the veritable Vaudois of this remote commune. Prali is called the *poorest* of the Waldensian parishes. It is fenced in by rock and forest. It lies directly under the great chain of the Alps. It is often seven and eight, and even

nine months under snow. Its productions are few and precarious, exposed as the whole commune is to avalanches. It has no mulberry-trees, no chesnuts, no vines. Wheat, barley, and oats, grow in the more fertile parts of its long narrow defile, but there is neither abundance nor certainty in the crops. And yet the *poorest* though it is called, Prali is not the commune where most wretchedness is found. The native population has been less intruded upon by strangers; and the increase less than in many other parts of the valleys: their wants are few: their habits of frugality and abstinence secure them enough of the absolute necessaries of life, and with these they are contented. It is an observation, which I have made before, but which I may again repeat, that the most sterile districts of the Waldensian territory, are not those where the sufferings of poverty are most felt.

The Protestant church of "this doleful village," as a late traveller called it, and doleful indeed it looks, the central school and the presbytery are all sorry buildings; the pastor has done what he could to improve his own habitation, and to obtain the means of putting the school and church in sufficient repair, but he has hitherto been unsuccessful.

M. Peyrani is the son of Ferdinand Peyrani, late pastor of Pramol; and, according to the usual regulations, should have exchanged this laborious

and remote mountain cure, for a parish in one of the other valleys. Something, however, occurred to disappoint him, and perhaps to vex him, but he has submitted to the disappointment for peace sake. I had reason to expect that the son of the Waldensian clergyman, who expressed himself, in his letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge [1], so plainly on the subject of the ancient institutions of the Waldenses, would be pleased with the statement which M. Bonjour had to lay before him, and so it proved.

July 14. We rose at an early hour, and accompanied by M. Peyrani, we crossed the Germanasca, and ascended toward the mountain called Galmont, on our way to the other parish under his charge, Rodoretto. This is four or five miles distant from his habitation, and being only approached by steep heights, and deep ravines, imposes heavy and difficult duties upon him. Hitherto Prali with Rodoretto as an *annexe*, and Massel with Maneglia annexed to it, have been served by two pastors, though the parishes require four, because there have been no means of paying four; and for this reason it has been customary to offer the pastors, who have been so burthened, the choice of less onerous cures in the other valleys, when vacancies have taken place. This excursion would have given me sufficient evidence, had I wanted

[1] See Narrative of an Excursion, &c. p. 3. 4th Edit.

such, of the labours of a Waldensian minister; more particularly in the winter. The acclivities, which we had to mount, must be absolutely formidable, when the ground is slippery from ice, snow, or wet: and some of the paths are so narrow, and shelving, as they overhang the precipices, that it requires long habit, or the utmost caution, to traverse them in safety. Loitering a little behind my companions, I lost sight of them, but following in the track, I came to a spot where the footing seemed to be so insecure, and the gulf, which yawned below, so appalling, that I paused, and looked around, to see if there were no other passage. It was not till I had ascertained that it was the only path, that I ventured to proceed by it. And yet this was after some little practice had inured me to such mountain horrors.

In the pine grove on the mountain side facing the hamlet of Lower Prali, where is the Roman Catholic church, and directly opposite to that building, M. Peyrani shewed us a noble fir-tree, and upon it a cross cut deeply in the bark. "This emblem of her faith," said the pastor, "was made by a Roman Catholic woman, whose flocks and châlet are on the Alp, immediately above us. The church below is the nearest to her pasturage, and here she comes, as frequently as she can, at the hour of mass, and kneeling before this cross, and within view of the sanctuary, where she knows the priest is officiating before the altar, she offers

up her devotions, and enjoys all the consolations of her religion." The Protestant clergyman related the anecdote with every feeling of respect for such sincere and simple piety, and I am sure that we heard it with equal sympathy. There is not a tale of Waldensian constancy or devotedness to the truth, which I have recorded with more pleasure, than I note down this simple trait of Christian character in a member of the other Church.

On Galmont we visited the spot where the Vaudois, under Arnaud, had a camp, and the wood, wherein the sick and the wounded were concealed. Galmont is strong by nature, and was rendered more impregnable by two redoubts, or entrenchments, which the patriots threw up. I paced the smaller of the two, of an oval form, and found it to be about 100 yards in circumference. This memorable height commands a fine view of the defiles, in which Prali and Rodoretto are situated: the one on the banks of the Germanasca, the other on a torrent which flows into the Germanasca. Our route from Galmont to Rodoretto lay through a wood of firs, in which there were some very fine acacias.

Rodoretto is a poor village, situated in a hollow of the mountains: the church and central school, like those of Prali, are miserable buildings. The celebrated Leger, moderator and historian of the Vaudois, was one of M. Peyrani's predecessors in the cure of Prali and Rodoretto. In a memoir of

his own life, printed at the end of his history of the Vaudois Churches, there is an animated notice of his first appointment to this double cure. "It was in September 1629, that I was sent to take charge of the Prali and Rodoretto, in the highest and the coldest of all the valleys, which is usually covered with snow eight or nine months in the year, with an injunction to preach four times a week."

The memoir proceeds to state, that one Sunday, when he was going from Prali to Rodoretto, in the month of February, he was caught in a snow storm, and suffered so dreadfully from the cold, that he was frost-bitten, and attacked by an imposthume, which nearly cost him his life.

After having spent an hour at Rodoretto, we proceeded towards Massel, by Guardiol and Fontana: our path lay parallel with the torrent that tumbles into the Germanasca, and offered one of the finest views of a mountain gorge I ever saw. The waters were at a great depth below us, thundering and foaming in a succession of cataracts from rock to rock. The opposite steeps were well covered with wood. The cliffs to our left rose in some places perpendicularly, and contained many grottos and caverns of considerable beauty. A "canal d'arosage," or aqueduct, running in a line with the path, was most ingeniously contrived, so as to convey the water in part by wooden troughs, supported by piles of stone, and

was as much deserving of notice, as some of those magnificent constructions of the Romans, which continue to be the wonder of succeeding generations. This humble and useful work displayed the utmost ingenuity and perseverance on the part of its constructors, and was extremely picturesque to the eye.

Nobody should visit the valley of San Martino, without taking this route to or from Rodoretto. It is much more worth a day's journey than many of the scenes in Switzerland and Italy, which occasion so much talk. The torrent, at its junction with the Germanasca, is the finest water-fall in the valleys, considering the height from which it falls, and the body of descending water.

In the winter, the snow renders this pass very dangerous: and a few years ago, a pastor would have been lost, who slipped, and rolled down towards the gulf below, had he not fortunately been accompanied by persons, who were able to catch hold of him before he was precipitated into the vortex.

Leaving the romantic path by the torrent side, we advanced towards Guardiol by a rocky acclivity, which was empurpled with lavender. At Fontana, the syndic of the commune, who resides there, hailed us in, and would not suffer us to decline his hospitable offers of refreshment. Perhaps, however, we should have persisted in going on without stopping, had he not urged us to visit a

new school-house, which was then building under the benevolent auspices of Colonel Beckwith.

From Fontana, we had a long and weary way before we could reach the top of the mountain, which divided us from the valley in which Massel and its hamlets are built. But the summit gained, we had the satisfaction to find that much of our route would then lie through a forest, where we should be protected from the burning rays of the sun. Before we began our descent, M. Peyrani directed our attention to the pretty looking hamlets of Le Coupe, and Didier, and Sanforan, and Le Serre, on the left, and to Champs de Salse, Robers, and Grange Didiers, on the right.

We arrived at Massel, about two o'clock, after passing through that alternation of woodland, meadowland, corn-fields, and rocky glens, which relieves weariness, and keeps the spirits and curiosity continually on the alert.

M. Tron, a proprietor of a large tract of mountain land, whose name figures in Vaudois history, as Trono of Massel, received us hospitably in his new-built house, which is a habitation of much larger dimensions, and of better appearance, than we should expect to find in this remote corner. While every preparation was making by Madame Tron, to entertain a hungry party of four or five unexpected visitors, the mountain Laird escorted us to the famous Balsi, or Balceglia: the scene of one of the most extraordinary defences in modern

warfare. A narrow defile, and a road, steep, rugged, and in many places almost impassable, except to men on foot, led to this position, which no less than 20,000 French and Piemontese troops were employed to surround, with the intention of cutting off the retreat of a few hundred Vaudois, and of compelling them to surrender.

Our curiosity was excited to the utmost to explore a spot, which was described in the despatches of the officers who commanded the royal forces, as a natural fortress projecting between the Guignivert, on one side, and the Col de Pis on the other, the highest mountains in this region, and forming the point of an angle, the sides of which were two wild torrents. This citadel of living rock, rose, it was said, in the shape of a cone, and was broken towards the top by three distinct points, each of which had a plateau at its foot, which might serve as a retreat when the Vaudois should be driven from the one below it. The upper part was called the Fortin, and the lower the Balsi, or castle. Before the French ventured to make the attempt of taking it by assault, the whole country was invested by a cordon of troops, and the storming party consisted of 450 veterans, supported by 700 militia.

Arnaud himself described the Balsi as " a lofty and very steep rock, (see Acland's translation of Arnaud, p. 147) rising by three different terraces, on the top of each of which was a small flat space,

in which a sort of barrack had been excavated. It possessed also three springs. Intrenchments had been constructed here, pierced with loop-holes. Each post was provided with a large store of stones, to hurl on the heads of the assailants." Long before we arrived at the hamlet of Balceglia, which is at the foot of this natural fortress, we distinguished the three rocky points, and formidable character of the position. The lower terrace also, or Balsi itself, was plainly marked, and is at present the site of one cottage. A mural precipice rises from the torrent to the platform on which the cottage stands. After stopping a few minutes at the hamlet, where the natives seemed highly pleased with the interest we seemed to take in the celebrity of their name, we crossed an Alpine bridge, and, by a very steep and tortuous path, we reached the first terrace.

I suppose my expectations were raised too high, for I confess I felt some disappointment at not finding traces of the barracks that were excavated, and of the intrenchments, and other proofs of the terrible conflict maintained here. But I forgot that it was 140 years ago, and that time must have swept away many, if not all such memorials. I should not have been led to believe that this spot was once the retreat of four or five hundred fighting men, who had thrown up artificial ramparts, had I not been assured by history and tradition, that such was the case: so entirely had the

face of every inch of ground, where soil could be found or brought, been changed by cultivation. It was manifest that a better position for defence could not be chosen, but there was no proof to the eye of its having been employed as such.

It was too late in the day to think of climbing to the upper terraces, and had there been time, M. Tron assured us that he should have dissuaded us from the attempt, unless we had been better prepared, with shoes nailed and spiked for the purpose, and unless he had previously seen how our heads could bear such an adventure. It was, indeed, a frightfully precipitous steep to think of ascending. I saw a woman cutting grass at a great elevation, and apparently in a very exposed spot above us; and enquired how she could venture, where it would be hazardous for us. He replied very significantly, "Habit and necessity are her guides and safeguard."

We retraced our steps back to M. Tron's house, determined to come again to the Balsi.

In the evening, we bade adieu to our kind entertainers, and directed our steps towards the presbytery of M. Timoleon Peyrani, at Maneille, or Maneglia, where we were to sleep, and a toilsome, dragging way it proved. After passing the Borgo di Bobert, we advanced by the edge of precipices, till the path led us down to the bed of the river. We then had to perform the remainder of the journey, for three-quarters of an hour, by

scrambling up-hill, and never in my life was I more exhausted than when I reached Maneglia at nine o'clock. I could scarcely speak. I mention this to record the remedy. My cordial was a lump or two of sugar steeped in brandy. The effect was almost instantaneous. After this I enjoyed a good supper, thanks to the kindness of Madame Peyrani, and did not regret that I had been fourteen hours on foot this day. Bonjour and my brother were not less sensible of the effects of the day's march than I was; but as for M. Peyrani, he strode onwards from morning till night, with an erect and stately pace, recounted his tales, indulged in his dry humour, and planted the soles of his feet, as firmly on the ground, when he arrived at his brother's presbytery, as when he left his own, fresh from his breakfast.

July 15. I was stiff and feverish, and every joint ached, when they called me this morning, at day-break, and gladly would I have folded my arms for a little more sleep; but we had another long day's journey before us, and it was necessary to bestir ourselves.

M. Timoleon Peyrani, pastor of Maneglia and Massel, was not at home when we arrived last night; but he came in, after we had retired to bed, and I was introduced to him for the first time this morning. I had been anxious to make his acquaintance, not only as the brother of our friend of Prali, and nephew of the late moderator, but as

the author of an energetic work on the Vaudois Church and Character, worthy of his distinguished family. His manner is modest, and at first introduction he is somewhat reserved, but his conversation, when he warms, is that of the gifted author of "Considérations sur les Vaudois." I felt sure of his cordial approbation of my plans, after reading the piquant and characteristic introduction of his book, ("De Valdensium doctrina Theses, quas, Deo juvante, tueri conabitur Timoleon Peyran,") and his many eloquent praises of the ancient institutions of his country. M. Bonjour explained my intentions to him, and once more I had the satisfaction of hearing them approved.

The presbytery, church, and central school of Maneglia, like those of Prali and Rodoretto, are such as denote the scanty resources of a commune, which is situated on one of the rugged and less productive slopes of the upper valleys.

Baissé is the proper name of the hamlet which is the residence of the pastor, and here again Colonel Beckwith has made provision for putting the central school in a better condition. If I remember right, he has enabled Maneglia to construct a new building. I should have been more anxious to dedicate part of the funds at my disposal to similar purposes, if I had not conceived it to be better policy to devote them to a cause, which nobody has yet undertaken to promote.

The girls' schools are in the hands of the London

Committee, and objects of concern to Mr. Bridge. The salaries of the schoolmasters are under the immediate eye of the Dutch Committee; the pastors' stipends have been considered by the English government, and by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Colonel Beckwith has given his attention to the repairs of the school-rooms, and the foundation of a College became, therefore, an affair to which I felt that I might usefully give my principal consideration, and thereby assist the Vaudois in obtaining that on which they have long set their hearts.

After breakfast we took our departure from Baissé, and descended towards Perero, by the romantic glens of Chabranza. As we left the higher regions, we again came into the land of the vine, and the chesnut, and the walnut. Perero is a small town on the Germanasca, and the population is entirely Roman Catholic; how it came to be so, I did not learn: it is the only instance in the valleys of the kind: but not in any of the Protestant communes, were we more kindly welcomed than here. With the addition of the two Peyranis, who resolved to accompany us to Villa-Secca, we were now six in party; but the moment we entered Perero, we were hailed in by a Roman Catholic surgeon, who invited some of his neighbours to join us, and placed a repast before us, on the strength of which we might have proceeded

till night. The kindness and genuine frankness with which the three Vaudois clergymen, and the English strangers, (whose Protestantism was known to have brought them here,) were received by these members of the other community, added one more to the many convictions on my mind, that there is no reason why Protestants and Roman Catholics should not dwell together amicably, wherever pains, and penalties, and disabilities for religion sake are removed.

From Perero we proceeded to Villa-Secca, the parish of M. Rostaing, the present Moderator; the son of the late pastor of Bobi, at whose suggestion the Vaudois conveyed the wounded French over the borders. On the eminence to our right we saw Faetto, and to our left San Martino, which gives the name to the valley. Villa-Secca is situated on the slope of the mountain above the hamlet of Clots. The house where Leger was born, and the church of Villa-Secca, with the presbytery, are at no great distance from each other, and having visited each of these, we descended again with the Moderator to Clots, where I had the gratification of finding the children of the girls' school, busily at work in a nice, clean, airy room, looking tidy and cheerful, and the pictures of health. The more I saw of these establishments, the more I felt convinced that they will prove a great benefit to the Vaudois population. The name of Rostaing will, I trust,

long continue to find a distinguished place in the chronicles of the Waldenses. The present head of the family is Moderator. His son is pastor of Prarustino, and has the reputation of being one of the most active and pious ministers of the valleys. One of the Moderator's daughters was at the girls' school at Clots, when I made my first visit to it. Having reason to be pleased with the proficiency of the children, I gave a few francs to be divided among them by way of reward. M. Rostaing's daughter, with a spirit worthy of old Rostaing, of Bobi, gave her share to a school-fellow, to enable her to buy a pair of shoes.

Our party, increased by the Moderator, M. Jalla, pastor of Pomaretto, and the eldest son of the late moderator Peyrani, dined at Clots, in the house of the widow Bert. A salad, an omelet, and some sausages, composed the dinner: and over this frugal meal we discussed the matters which had brought us together, and once more I had an opportunity of studying the Vaudois character in their hours of convivial unreserve.

At four o'clock we left Clots, and crossing the river which runs through the valley, we ascended the Combe Garin, on our route to Pramol. All the party, like a guard of honour, and with the kind object of shewing us attention, accompanied us far up the mountain, under a scorching sun, and by rough and rugged paths, until we reached Riclaretto, the *annexe* of Villa-Secca. Here the

Moderator took advantage of an elevated spot, and pointed out to me the whole extent of his laborious cure; the hamlets of which stretch along on each side of the Germanasca, and mount up to the brows of the hills which enclose the valley. Within the nearer prospect we saw Layrasse, Troussier, San Martino, the three Clots, and Bovilla. Far away to our left we distinguished the Col de Pis, and its cascade, Guignevert, and Albergian. To the right Pomaretto, and the heights above Perosa. These views were not only interesting, inasmuch as they presented the loveliest and most magnificent scenery to the eye, but in the accurate judgment which they enabled me to form of the face of the country. I had now seen from different mountain-heights nearly the whole of the valleys of Luserna and San Martino. The Moderator, the three Peyranis, and M. Jalla, took leave of us at Riclaretto, and M. Bonjour, my brother, and I, pursued our way to Pramol by Mont Lazare.

We reached the summit of Lazare at seven o'clock, and would that I could describe the beauty of that evening scene. We looked down upon the hamlets of Pramol and San Germano. We found ourselves upon one of those Alps, where the green sward was as soft as a carpet, and the air was perfumed with the odoriferous herbs, which grew there in profusion. It was the hour when the cattle were collecting together, to move home-

wards, and the sounds of the lowing herds and bleating flocks mingled pleasingly with the voices of the shepherds, and the tingling of the sheep-bells. The girls and women, who were attending their flocks, were at the same time busily plying the distaff. The sensations of pleasure produced by this scene of mountain and pastoral life, were perfectly indescribable.

An accident which befell me, as we were descending towards Pramol, dissipated some of my agreeable reveries. My foot slipped, and falling with some violence upon my hand, I dislocated my middle finger. My brother and M. Bonjour, set it again immediately, and cutting a couple of splinters out of one of the walking poles, the finger was put into a secure position, and with my neck-cloth for a sling, we arrived at the presbytery of M. Vinçon, at eight o'clock, where we were received by himself and his young wife, with that cordial and friendly welcome which made us feel at home.

July 16. Paramolo, or Pramol. Never did I witness more appearance of contentment and peace, than M. Vinçon seems to enjoy in his mountain parish. His presbytery is the abode of domestic affection, and I think I may confidently add, of happiness, although his income, until the late increase by the restitution of the stipend from England, could not have exceeded that of Goldsmith's country curate. He is a great favourite

among his flock, and in testimony of their respect, they have lately built him a very comfortable habitation, at the cost of about 7000 francs, or 280*l.*, close to his church, which is also in a state of decent repair. Every English traveller, who has visited Pramol, has spoken in terms of esteem and admiration of this pastor: I was therefore prepared to like him; but there was an air of comfort and cheerfulness in his dwelling, and of good management in the regulation of his parish, which sent me home more than ever enamoured of the character of the Christian minister, who lives in the midst of his family and his flock, with all his wishes and wants, his hopes and his expectations, his cares and his anxieties, brought within one narrow and dear circle.

Madame Vinçon, a fair Swiss, had lived as governess in England and Ireland; in Ireland with the family of an Archbishop, but leaving all vain aspirings behind, she has brought to these remote valleys many of those English habits which give a charm to domestic life. An English lady, Miss Burroughs, with good judgment, and the most charitable intentions, thought she could not do better for this part of the valleys, than to place a well stocked medicine chest under the charge of Madame Vinçon, who has by this means been enabled to dispense to the necessities of many of the sick and ailing, who would otherwise have

gone unrelieved. In this, and other charges which she has taken upon herself, this amiable woman is completely the clergyman's wife. Her two blooming boys, one of five and a half, and the other of three and a half, are so well taught, under her maternal instruction, that when the elder, in play, menaced the younger with a stick, the latter exclaimed, "What, will you be like Cain, and kill your brother?"

Pramol realized our notion of an Alpine village, as much as any in the valleys. It is situated in a fertile basin, nearly at the top of a mountain, from which you command a splendid view of the vale of the Clusone, and the plains of Piemont. Its hamlets are scattered in sight of the knoll on which the church and presbytery stand, and the variety of the productions, which grace the landscape, make as perfect a picture as the imagination can fancy.

If I could venture to point out one spot above another as the scene of that rustic felicity, which is the theme of romance and poetry, I should fix upon that which is inhabited by M. Vinçon, and his family. A young couple, with their three lovely children, two boys, and an infant, the very image of health, have here had their lots cast together among the wild beauties of nature, and are in possession of that which they call enough; having been separated for many years after their first

declarations of attachment, they are now united, and fulfilling their mutual vows of affection and duty.

We should have gone from Pramol to San Germano and Prarustino, to lay our proposals before the only two pastors whom I had not yet seen; but my dislocated finger was some inconvenience, therefore we determined to return directly to La Torre. Crossing the Russiglia torrent, which runs through a deep glen, we ascended towards La Vachera, by some fine woods and pasturages, and from the lofty heights that separate Pramol from the communes of Angrogna and Prarustino, we looked down upon Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, San Secondo, and the plains far beyond Pinerolo. It was a combination of rock and wood, corn-fields and vineyards, of mountain and vale, and of green pastures by the water side, seen under the influence of an evening sun. We passed through several of the hamlets of Angrogna, and arrived at San Margarita in time to take our places round the supper table.

I gained much by this journey to the upper valleys. I had traversed on foot the whole length of the valleys, and in such a direction as to give me a good idea of the localities of all the parishes and hamlets. I had become acquainted with *notables* of the community, and had learnt their sentiments upon many important topics. I had

seen the manners of the pastors, and principal inhabitants, and of the poorest peasants, under different circumstances. My favourable opinions are all strengthened. If there were some few things which vexed me, there were many which gave me pleasure.

CHAPTER XII.

Proposals to the Vaudois Pastors and Officers of the Table for the establishment of a College in the Valleys.

HAVING now visited thirteen out of the fifteen Waldensian parishes, and conversed with all the pastors but two, and most of the principal laity, I felt that I was competent to form a pretty fair estimate of the wants and wishes of the community, and that I might put down upon paper the proposals that I had to make. It was an object to have my plan so stated, as that each of the pastors might have an opportunity of reflecting upon it, and giving his opinion more deliberately, than when he had only an outline explained in conversation to guide him. I therefore employed myself, after my return from the excursion related in the last Chapter, in drawing up some resolutions, which were shaped and modified, with the assistance of those of my Vaudois friends, who were at hand. Having done this, the paper was submitted to the perusal of their brethren, as I had opportunities of communicating with them, and received their final sanction and signatures, under

the form in which I now present it to my readers. Upon one occasion, ten pastors were present, after the paper had been signed by them separately, and these, having again considered the subject, in a body, signified their joint consent by signing a second time in testimony of their full approbation. It will be supposed that some of my resolutions produced observations; and that explanations were asked, and amendments proposed; these I have noted, so that those who desire to be in full possession of all that relates materially to the scheme, will not, I trust, be disappointed.

Proposals submitted to the consideration of the pastors of the Waldensian Church, July 1829.

"The Waldensian historians, and writers, and others, who complain that the Vaudois of the present day have departed, more or less, from the purity and simplicity of their ancestors, attribute it to two causes: First, To the imperfect system of education in the valleys, which obliges the students of theology to expatriate themselves eight, ten, and sometimes twelve years [1], at the hazard of their morals, and of their religious principles, and at very considerable expense; a prac-

[1] "In the present state of things, young Vaudois often quit their homes, for Switzerland, before they are sixteen years of age."—Note by M. Bonjour.

tice which necessarily results from the want of means to obtain instruction at home suitable to any of the higher professions. Secondly, To the relaxation of the ancient discipline, particularly of the ancient surveillance of the Moderator, who formerly used to visit all the churches once a year, that he might report accordingly [1] to the synod.

"There is also great complaint in the Waldensian communes, that the churches, families, and individuals experience a general want of books of devotion, both for public services, and for private use.

"Under these circumstances, I propose, (upon certain conditions, and under certain regulations,) to apply funds at my disposal to the endowment of a school, or college, which shall serve for the instruction of young persons intended for the ministry, for regents, schoolmasters, &c. &c., and which shall, as far as it is possible, be equally beneficial to the three valleys. In the promotion of this object, I engage to furnish five thousand francs towards building a house for the proposed establishment, provided that the Vaudois will themselves give the site, within the commune of La Torre.

"To give a stipend of 1500 francs a-year to the head-master.

[1] See Leger, page 207.

"To give ten exhibitions of 100 francs each to students of the ten communes, situated at the greatest distance from La Torre.

"To make these permanent endowments, if the college goes on satisfactorily.

"To make a communication of these intentions to the London Vaudois Committee, and to the Dutch Committee[1], under the hope that the

[1] The idea of uniting the funds of the grammar-school with those of the college, was not only strongly recommended by M. Monastier, of Lausanne, "Avant tout," said he, "pour rendre les moyens d'instruction efficaces, il faudroit les réunir;" but some few years ago, a plan of a similar nature was in agitation, and a letter was addressed to the sub-prefect of Pinerolo, to the following effect:—

SIR,

"The authorities of the Vaudois communes feel the necessity of having a college of their own in their valleys, in which such instruction may be imparted to their youth, as their several destinations may require. Before they undertake a concern of this kind, they have enquired into the nature of their resources, and calculated the expenses. They require three professors, the first to teach the elements of the French language, writing and arithmetic; the second, mathematics; the third, Belles Lettres, Latin, and Greek.

The first ought to have	700	francs a-year.
The second	900	
The third	1000	
	2600	
For rent of a house	400	
	3000	francs.

former may supply the means of raising a salary for a second master, and that the latter may consent to transfer the stipend and services of the master of the grammar-school of La Torre, to the proposed college, by which a third mastership may be established [1].

" To enter into a further correspondence with the benefactors of the Vaudois in Holland, and to request that the sum of 750 francs per annum, now allowed to Vaudois students at Lausanne and Geneva, at the rate of 70 francs a-year each, may be assigned in augmentation of the ten exhibitions at the college of La Torre, or to increase that number, when the students now in the enjoyment of these gratuities shall have finished their studies.

" To assign 2000 francs for the purchase of books, of my own choice, for the use of the students

" Towards this sum of 3000 francs required, we have 1000 francs annually from Holland, which may be applied to the purpose; and we propose to fix a charge upon the Vaudois communes to raise the remainder. La Tour is the place where the institution should be established; and two ecclesiastics should always fill the office of second and third professors," &c.

The plan failed, from an unwillingness, I believe, on the part of government, to sanction the proposed mode of raising the money.

[1] The London Committee has the affair under consideration.

The Dutch Committee have been applied to, but decline forming any union, and prefer keeping the grammar-school as a separate concern.

of the proposed establishment; under the expectation that the pastors will contribute from their own stock of books towards the foundation of a library [1].

"I engage also, to assign 500 francs annually to the Officers of the Table, to enable them to meet the expenses of annual visitation,—

To the Moderator - - - - 200
To the Moderator adjoint - 150
To the Secretary of the Table 150

upon condition that they visit the college twice a year, and that they also visit the parishes as heretofore.

"To assign also 1300 francs annually, in equal allotments, to the pastors, to enable them to meet the casual wants of the poor, or of the schools of their several parishes, upon condition that they deliver a report in writing to the Moderator, every year, in answer to the queries proposed at his visitation.

"To defray the expense of printing 50 copies in quarto, of a Book of Common Prayer, for the use of the churches; such book of prayer to contain

[1] Since my return to England, a benevolent prelate of the English Church has suggested the idea of making it known in England, that presents of books will be very acceptable to the infant institution. Messrs. Rivington have signified their willingness to receive any books that may be sent to their care, either at St. Paul's Church Yard, or Waterloo Place.

public and private prayers, to be composed by a commission of pastors [1], chosen by myself, upon the basis of the English liturgy, and the three liturgies now in use, namely, the liturgies of Geneva, Lausanne, and Neufchatel.

" To have 2000 copies of the same printed in 12mo. or 8vo. for the use of families and individuals."

Copy of the signatures of all the pastors of the Waldensian Church in approbation of the above.

" I will do all in my power to second the views of Mr. Gilly; but, considering my advanced age, and numerous pastoral functions, it is with reluctance that I decline to subscribe to the obligations imposed upon the Moderator. I must leave these, and the advantages attached to them, to my colleagues, who are younger than myself, and to my successor.

" Alex. Rostaing,
" Moderator and Pastor of Ville Séche."

[1] 1. This Commission to be composed of Vaudois pastors.

2. The liturgy not to be introduced into the churches, until the body of pastors have approved of the compilation of the commission.

3. Then to engage to use this liturgy, and no other.

4. The majority of pastors will decide, and engage for the whole body.

Notes by J. Vinçon.

"I approve of the plan proposed with lively and sincere gratitude,

"G. MUSTON,
"Pastor and Moderator Adj."

"With lively gratitude, and on the conditions to which I have put my name,

"J. VINÇON,
"Pastor, and Secretary to the Table."

D. Timoleon Peyran, pastor of Maneille and Massel.
Jn. Jaqs. D. Jalla, pastor of Pomaret.
J. Rodolphe Peyran, pastor of Prali.
J. D. Monnet, pastor of St. Germains.
Cesar Augte. Rostaing, pastor of Prarustin.
J. P. Bonjour, Pasteur-chapelain.
P. Bert, pastor of La Torre.
F. Peyrot, pastor of Angrogna.
David Mondon, doyen and pastor of St. Jean.
Josué Meille, retired pastor.
Franc. Gay, pastor of Villar.
G. Monastier, pastor of Rora.
J. J. Bonjour, ordained 1829.
J. Revel, minister.
Paul Goante, retired pastor."

Before I left the valleys, I addressed a letter to the Officers of the Table, in which I stated, that having consulted the pastors of the Vaudois Church,

upon the appropriation of certain funds placed at my disposal, I should remit the sum of 4300 francs annually to the valleys, subject to fluctuations in exchange, and reductions of interest, and otherwise, for the purposes above mentioned, together with 5000 francs towards the building of the college, and 2000 francs for books, as soon as the preparatory steps should be taken to accomplish the objects in view. I also named the commission for the compilation of the liturgy: viz. M. Rostaing, Moderator; M. Muston, Moderator-adjoint; M. Vinçon, Secretary to the Table; M. Bert, late Moderator, and president of the hospital; and M. Bonjour, Pasteur-chapelain to the Protestant ambassadors at Turin. This letter, and the engagements therein contained, were witnessed and approved by the pastors, Muston, Vinçon, Bert, Gay, Peyrot, Bonjour, Timoleon Peyran, Monastier, Revel, and J. J. Bonjour, who happened to be present when it was written.

Much correspondence has since passed between the Table and myself, on the manner in which the plans are to be carried into execution; but I must reserve that which I have to add on this subject, till the conclusion of my narrative. I cannot, however, withhold the mention, in this place, of the disinterested conduct of the Officers of the Table. They have declined accepting the 500 francs offered towards defraying the expense of the annual visitations, and have begged that it

may be appropriated to some public object. The reduction of the four per cents., in which the money destined for the promotion of the plan was invested, has already reduced the annual amount of interest, and will still further reduce it. The saving of this sum of 500 francs will, however, prevent any diminution of the stipend of the head master, of the ten exhibitions, &c., for the present, at least.

CHAPTER XIII.

Traits of Character.—Pra del Tor, and the ancient College of the Vaudois.

THE effects of the accident on Mont Lazare obliged me to suspend my excursions for a week, and the time was spent agreeably, and beneficially, I hope, in sauntering about the immediate vicinity of La Torre, and in making acquaintance with the peasants, as I happened to find them in the fields or in their cottages. Some of these had never been far from their homes, others had served in the army under Napoleon, and the prejudices of my brother, a lieutenant in the navy, were terribly shocked by hearing the praises of the late Emperor of the French proclaimed by veterans, who had fought in campaigns under his banner. The Vaudois are naturally of a warlike turn, but they love their native haunts better than any thing in the world, and there are many instances of officers returning to the humble occupations of their forefathers, when they might have risen to distinction under foreign princes. The more I intermixed with these people, the greater reason did I find to be

pleased with the genuine simplicity of their character. The proofs of mutual kindness, and forbearance, which came under my observation, would fill many pages. I should say they are almost incapable of practising disguise or dissimulation.

When any of them came to state their complaints or wants to M. or Madame Bert, the tale was told at once without circumlocution or exaggeration. If it was to ask a favour, the request was made in the tone, and with the face of one who felt, that there is no shame in one human being making his distress known to another. I select, as an instance, a poor woman who had incurred some small debts, during a long illness, which she could not pay. She stated her case to the pastor, and, at his desire, she did the same to me. Her open countenance, and frank explanation, without the least whining or weeping, were more persuasive than tears, and pleaded her cause successfully.

A grievous loss befel a peasant during this week, which gave me a still better opportunity of observing the Vaudois character under calamity. His corn had been cut and gathered, and the whole of it stacked near his cabin. By some carelessness, his wife, in heating her oven, set fire to some straw, which communicated with the stack, and very soon every sheaf was consumed, and with it a great part of the dwelling and its contents. This occurred in the hamlet of Copia, a

very short distance from M. Bert's, and I witnessed the whole scene, the burning premises, the ready assistance given to extinguish the flames, and the conduct of the husband and his faulty wife, during the progress of the fire, and the impending consumption of their little all. The woman was the picture of grief; her countenance expressed bitter self-condemnation; nobody, however, reproached her, and her sorrow did not paralyze her, she worked like the rest to put out the fire. The husband calmly directed others, and toiled himself, under the hope of saving part of his property; and as he stood on the roof, hurling water on that part of his cottage which had not yet become a prey to the flames, I looked in wondering admiration at the unagitated figure and countenance of the man, whose sum of earthly possession appeared to be perishing before his eyes. When he afterwards, at my desire, gave me an account of the amount of his loss, the estimate appeared to me to be below the mark, so little was he disposed to make the worst of his misfortune, or to magnify the damages.

July 22. To the Pra del Tor, under the hope of finding some vestiges of the college, or at least of examining whether there might yet remain any "veterum monumenta virorum," which should enable us to speak confidently as to the spot, where the ancient Vaudois Barbes trained their pupils in the doctrine of the first centuries, during the darkest

periods of Romish thraldom. The exact place, where these instructions were given, is not satisfactorily pointed out in any of the Waldensian authors, which I have had an opportunity of consulting. Leger's description is too vague to enable us to determine, whether he spoke of a building, where the instructors and their scholars assembled together, or only of the region where they held their meetings. "This place," said he, speaking of the Pra del Tor, "is a hollow, *un creux*, environed by mountains, situated to the west of La Vachera, and cannot be approached except with much difficulty, and by a path, excavated in places out of the rock, running along the edge of the Angrogna torrent; it is, however, capable of containing a great many people. It was here, that during the thick darkness and most cruel persecutions, the ancient barbes, or pastors of the valleys, continued to hold their preachings, and preserved the college, where they instructed those whom they prepared for the ministry."—Page 4. Liv. 1.

Gilles describes the Pra del Tor, as being "a track of grass land, in the upper part of the valley of Angrogna, and separated from the lower district by stupendous rocks, which fortify it on all sides, and comprise within their outworks several hamlets, a large number of isolated edifices, good possessions, and fruit trees of several kinds. The path to it is very narrow, lying among the rocks

by the torrent side. This basin is well peopled in summer, but not so in winter."—Gilles, p. 141.

Brezzi states plainly, that the scene of study was a cavern. " The cavern, which served for the academy of our venerable barbes, where they sowed and cultivated the principles of their pure and blameless religion, and whence they spread them through the world, is still in existence, it is the cavern of the famous Pre du Tour, in the parish of Angrogna." (Bracebridge's translation, p. 142.)

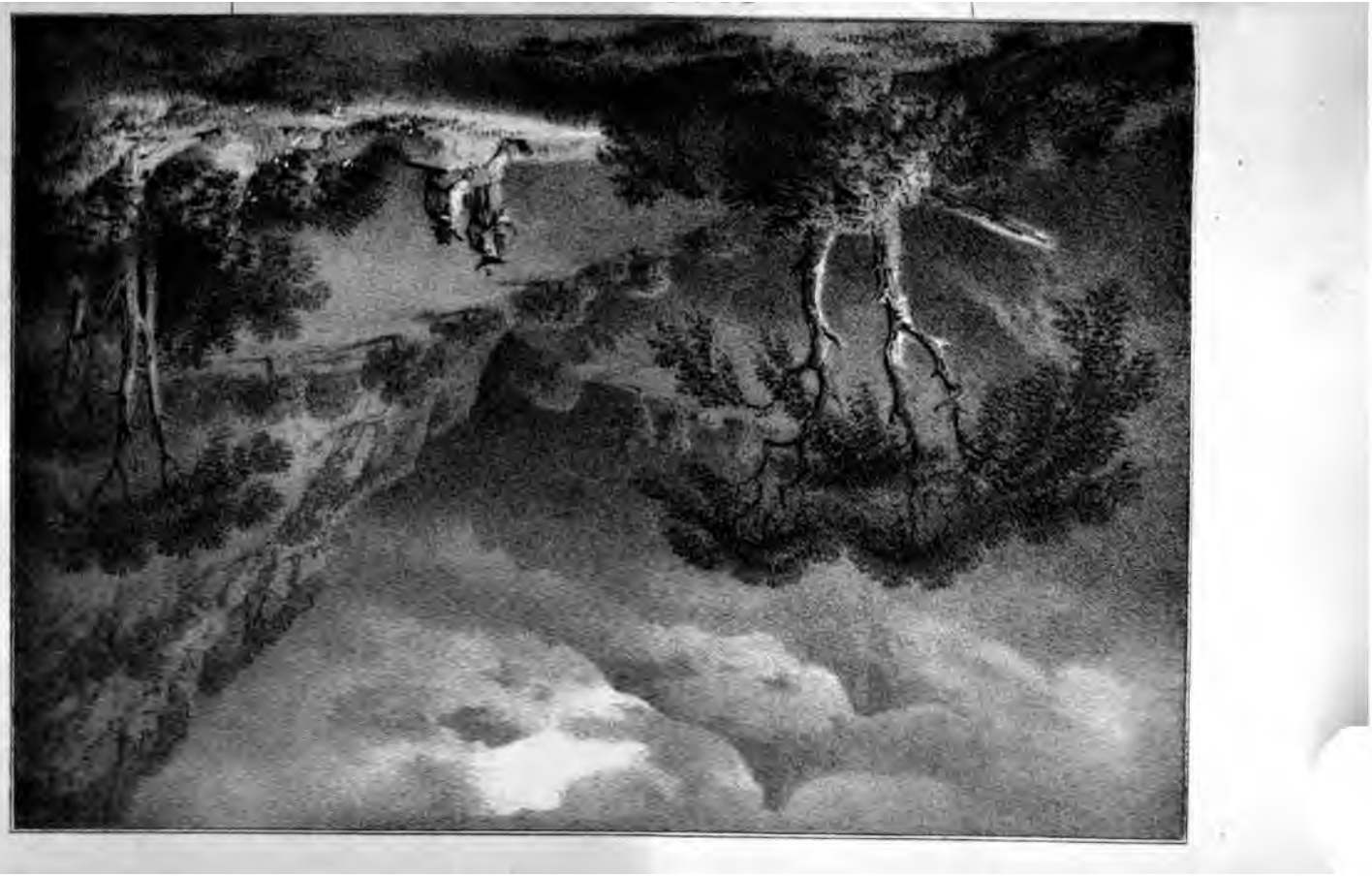
The tradition, which helped Brezzi to give this location to the college, did not assist us. We set out for the Pra without having been able to collect any legendary information, on which we could rely for guidance to the precise spot, which had thus been consecrated to the noblest purposes of religion.

By way of varying our walk, we did not go by the eastern bank of the Angrogna torrent, and by St. Laurent, but by the old tower of La Torre and the hamlets of Simonde and Roussaings. Nothing remains of the once formidable fortress, which used to keep the people of La Torre in check, but its walls. A vineyard and a corn-field occupy the ground where ramparts and bastions once frowned defiance, and, in summer evenings, it is often the recreation of the young people of the vicinity to ascend to the hill, which was formerly planted with

cannon, and to sit and gaze upon the noble landscape below, under the foliage and trellises.

From the heights opposite to Angrogna, we saw the finest parts of that commune to great advantage, and when we descended into the vale, through which the torrent dashes along, we enjoyed that inexpressible pleasure, which lovers of scenery experience in a leisurely stroll through groves and meadows, which occasionally open upon "hills whose heads touch heaven." The brown crags, and the bright green pastures, which were kept in a beautiful state of verdure by irrigation and the shade of branching trees, relieved us from the glare of the sun. The waters of the torrent partook of the everchanging character of the scenery, now white and foaming, as it swept its course in a broad sheet over its broken bed, and then dark and deep, sometimes sleeping in pools, playing in cascades, or plunging down steeps, and rushing through channels, which can only be crossed by those frail bridges which add so much to the "beautiful horrors" of these regions. There were few glens so lonely in which we did not find a cottage decorated with its little orchard, and swarming with children.

This kind of scenery continued until we passed over to the right bank, by a very narrow and elevated stone bridge; the aspect of the country there became wilder and wilder, the defile closed



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in, and we soon found ourselves approaching towards that circumvallation of rock and mountain, within which the Waldenses have so often betaken themselves, as to a citadel of safety. Leger has well described it. The immediate access to it is rugged, narrow, and confined on one side by cliffs, which rise abruptly from their base, and on the other by the waters of the torrent. In many places the channel of the river occupies the greater part of the defile; upon the whole, however, I did not think it so impregnable as fame has represented it to be.

The amphitheatre, or basin, into which the defile opens, is justly called the Pra del Tor, or meadow of the tower. At first sight, all the acclivities seem to be fortified with castles, and battlemented walls; the rocks assuming those appearances; but though it is so fenced in by rock, there are spots of the softest herbage. Of the two sketches which Mrs. Gilly took, the first gives a fair representation of the castellated crags, which might almost cheat you into a belief that you see a strong line of fortresses; and the second, the view of Cella Veglia, delineates the verdant character of several of its sunny banks. These opposite features of nature are symbolical of the chequered history of this sequestered spot. When no violent edicts were issued to disturb its repose, it was the scene of pastoral innocence and religious meditation. But when the mandate went forth to compel the Vau-

dois to conform to the Latin ritual, it became a field of blood.

It must have been a soul-stirring sight, to behold on one side the royal troops approaching from the lower valley in all the pride and pomp of war, filling up the defiles with their hundreds and tens of hundreds, and armed as fighting men then were, with their glittering breast-plates of steel, with their arquebusses, and morions, and halberts, and making the rocks reverberate with their shouts, and with the music of their clarions and trumpets; and, on the other hand, to see a few resolute mountaineers, wedged firmly side by side, occupying the pass in silent order, and solemnly waiting the onset of their adversaries. On some of the pinnacles above, stood the most venerable of their pastors, raising their hands to heaven, and imploring help from the King of Kings. On others the feeble and the grey-headed were watching the moment, when a slight movement would set masses of rolling stones in motion, and carry destruction into the crowded ranks of the assailants. Behind, in the asylums of this mountain keep, were the women and children, whose safety depended upon the fortitude which their husbands, brothers, and fathers should display in the shock of battle. If any voice was heard from the little band, whose bodies formed the barrier of the pass, it was the sound of psalmody; their brave spirits were still further excited by the hymns, which their barbes

had taught them to chant in the hour of peril. Reader, be not incredulous, when you hear of the marvellous exploits which were performed on days of conflict, when the nerves of the "men of the valleys" were strung to the utmost, by every consideration that can steel the heart and strengthen the arm. Wrongs inflicted, injuries threatened, and religious fervour burning like fire, were incentives which nothing could cool. Wonder not then, that, upon one occasion, seven thousand men were brought up in vain to carry this formidable position by assault. For four days, company after company pressed on to the charge: and at last retreated from the Thermopylæ of the valleys, without deriving either honour or advantage from the attack.

We were utterly unsuccessful in our enquiry after the cavern, or chamber in the rocks, which served as the lecture-room for the young Vaudois of the 14th and 15th centuries. Equally disappointed were we in our search after some ruin, that might bear the marks of having been the edifice wherein sacred studies had been pursued. Not one stone remains upon another, which our most daring imagination could venture to ennoble as a relic of the ancient college of the Vaudois. There was no legend on the spot, no lingering tradition which we could trust as our guide, in short, we came away, without being able to flatter ourselves that we had planted our feet in the halls or

grotto of the barbes of old. That the Pra del Tor was the scene of their most solemn convocations, and that somewhere, within the sanctuaries enclosed by the magnificent mountains which rose in panorama above us, they instructed their youth, there can be no doubt; it is exactly the theatre of such doings. Whether they sought for safety, for concealment, or for opportunities of contemplation, here they had it. It is in the very centre of the valleys: every thing around is stamped with the seal of the Creator's greatness and eternity. Objects of unrivalled grandeur and sublimity appeal to the eye and to the fancy. The Pra del Tor is like one vast monastery, where every thing combines to invite to meditation, study, and devotion. Its solitudes, its groves, its waters, its beautiful and gigantic features possess all the fascination, by which contemplative minds are supposed to be most affected.

Præsentiorem conspicimus Deum
Per invias rupes, fera per juga,
Clivosque præruptos, sonantes
Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem.

It is the belief of the Roman Catholics, quite as much as of the Vaudois themselves, that this region is famous in the ancient history of the Waldensian Church; and therefore it is that they are now so anxious to make it their own, and to triumph in the boast, that the place which was

formerly desecrated by heretics, is now consecrated by Romish piety. A very handsome little church, neatly built, was just ready to be dedicated to some saint in the Latin calendar, when we were there, and every effort was made to proselytise the natives of the hamlet. The church is about forty feet by twenty-six; the ceiling is painted, and the decorations are in good taste. It stands on ground which belonged to a Protestant, who was unwilling to alienate it, and especially for the purpose for which it was intended; but he had a hint given to him, which reduced him to submission, and bongre! malgre! the poor fellow was obliged to surrender the inheritance of his fathers upon Ahab's terms. This proceeding is mortifying to the Protestants, but it speaks in honour of the antiquity of the Vaudois Church, and its traditionary college. There would not be so much anxiety to occupy the Pra del Tor, or to build there an expensive church, but for its ancient reputation.

We returned to San Margarita by the lower hamlets of Angrogna, and by the eastern bank of the torrent.

CHAPTER XIV.

Journey to Val Queiras, and Val Frassynière. Felix Neff. The passes of the Col de la Croix. The Bergerie du Pra. The Chamois Hunter. Preaching on the Mountains. San Veran. Arvieux. Dormilleuse.

In the course of this work, I have made frequent mention of the Waldenses of Dauphiné and Provence. They were for the most part exterminated under the reign of Francis I. of France. "What," said that monarch, in one of his moments of zealous attachment to the Pope, and compliance with his wishes, "shall I exert all my influence to destroy the Lutherans in Germany, and suffer heresy to flourish in my own dominions?" The carnage committed by his orders was frightful; but some of the proscribed found refuge in mountains covered with snow three quarters of the year, where the rage of the elements, dreadful as it is, was less destructive than that of man. De Thou, the historian, gives a deeply interesting account of a remnant of the Waldenses inhabiting the savage wilds of Val Frassynière in the sixteenth century. According to his representation, the natives of

this district were, in their moral and religious cultivation, amidst such scenes of desolation and squalid wretchedness, as the mind can scarcely imagine, an example for the most civilised people in Europe. (See Thuani Hist. Lib. 27.) Allix speaks of the storm of Papal fury which swept this tract of country in the fifteenth century[1].

I had long entertained a strong desire of exploring the Alpine valleys in the French territory, where the last traces of the Waldenses of that region were left. This feeling was greatly increased by learning that a branch of the venerable stock yet survived, and that families were to be found, both in Val Frassynière and in Val Queiras, which have remained true to the primitive faith from father to son, even to the present age, though the sword had been suspended over their heads from the reign of Philip Augustus, of atrocious memory, to that of Louis XVI. But these valleys are so remote from all the common routes, so repulsive from their situation among the highest and bleakest of the French Alps, that I almost despaired of ever finding my way to them.

A short time before my second journey to Pie-

[1] Allix quotes from the MSS. contained in Vol. G. of the Morland Collection, see p. 324. The lost MSS. must therefore have been safe in the University Library of Cambridge in 1689, and the conjecture, that Morland omitted to send this portion of the Waldensian papers, falls to the ground.

mont, the kindness of Mr. Francis Cunningham had put me in possession of some particulars, which made me resolve to cross from the valleys of Piemont to those of Dauphiné, and to extend my researches among the descendants of the Vaudois of France, who had escaped the crusades of Francis I., and the dragonades or *Bourbonades*, as they should be called, of Louis XIV. and XV. About seven years ago, Felix Neff, a young Swiss clergyman, full of zeal, and devoted to the cause of religion, heard of the existence of these scattered sheep of the wilderness, and penetrated to the most secluded of their retreats. One of these, Dormilleuse, is the highest habitable spot in Europe, a village, whose site is stolen from rock and glacier, and so inclemently situated, and so perilous of approach, that at the sight of it the beholder immediately identifies it with the history of martyrs, " of whom the world is not worthy," of wanderers " in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth." One of the accounts, which was transmitted to me, of this extraordinary spot, and of the self-denying Neff, who transported himself from the lovely banks of the lake of Geneva, to labour here in his Master's cause, contained the following description :—

" The valley of Frassynière was the only one left, where the persecuted could find shelter. The most hardy retired to the very edge of the glacier,

and there built the village of Dormilleuse, which looks as if it were suspended from the mountain side, like an eagle's nest, and serves as a citadel for the residue of that afflicted people, who have been preserved, without any intermixture with strangers, to this day. Many a time it has been an asylum for those who have been obliged to flee from the valleys of Piemont. Without schools, and without a pastor, but with a few copies of the Scripture, the inhabitants cherished an imperfect knowledge of the faith of their ancestors, with the assistance of such instruction only as the Vaudois clergy, from the Italian side of the Alps, could give them occasionally."

The Latin poet who commemorated the enjoyments and innocency of the golden age, imagined that the noblest virtues might be spontaneously cherished, without laws or restraints. It is for the Christian historian to record, that in an iron age of persecution, and in a climate where there are no kindly and spontaneous productions, there an afflicted race,

" Sponte sua sine lege fidem rectumque colebat."

In this condition Neff found the natives of Dormilleuse; and, besides these, he discovered other families in the neighbouring mountains, who, without having the benefit of any regular ministry, or spiritual superintendence, had persevered in calling

themselves members of the Primitive Church, with a sort of traditionary affection for the creed of their forefathers. They were dispersed in seventeen or eighteen of the most remote villages, and over an extent of country fifty miles in diameter. First in one, and then in another, the missionary took up his habitation, as he thought he might be most serviceable, and five years he spent thus in teaching and preaching, literally, from house to house—in administering the sacraments, in training schoolmasters, and in helping to civilize a race, who were more like the mild and docile savages of the southern islands, than inhabitants of any part of refined France. The exertions and the success of this apostle of the Alps; his perils amid snows and precipices; his nocturnal labours with peasants, who were forced to toil for their subsistence by day, and therefore implored him to read and pray with them at night; his journeys, where he was obliged to be attended by young men, who cut steps in the ice with axes before he could proceed; his ministration in places where the congregation was composed of persons, some of whom came twenty, thirty, and forty miles to hear the Gospel from his lips; his consuming zeal, till his strength sunk under labours, which were on a scale above the ordinary powers of body or mind,—these must form the substance of a separate volume, in which I hope to record events which

will place the name of Neff[1] in not unfavourable comparison, beside those of Swartz, and Oberlin, and Heber.

[1] "The work of a preacher in the Alps resembles that of a missionary among savages. The most barbarous of all my valleys are those of Frassynière: agriculture, architecture, all is to be taught. Many houses are without a chimney, and almost without a window. The whole family, for seven months, live near the manure of the cow-shed or stable, which is cleaned out only once a year. Their clothes and their diet are as coarse and dirty as their dwelling. Bread is baked only once a year; it is of pure rye unsifted: and if this bread come to an end before the time, they bake cakes upon the cinders, as the easterns do. —On that part of the valley called La Comb, the horizon is so bounded, that for six months they never see the sun. On my first arrival, so uncivilized were the inhabitants, that at the sight of a stranger, the peasants fled into their houses like marmots. My first difficulty was to be understood by them, for which purpose I learnt their patois.—The first thing I found attractive to them was music, of which I taught them some of the first principles. They had no idea, I observed, of watering their meadows. I proposed to them to open a canal for this purpose. They were pleased with the idea of making one, and we agreed that we would begin the work. Early next morning I assembled the men, and distributed the work—myself setting the example. We had to erect digues, eight feet high in some places, and to pierce through beds of rock. After some hard labour, we were rewarded by seeing the water flow to the meadows amidst shouts of joy from all.—I determined to form a school, which should comprise the most intelligent and best disposed young men of my different churches. We divided the day into three classes, the first from dawn to breakfast at eleven o'clock, the second from noon to sun-set, the third from supper till eleven at night—in all fourteen hours a day. Reading, writing, grammar, arith-

When I made known, to my Vaudois friends, my intention of going to the ancient seats of the Waldenses, on the other side of the Alps, and to the scene of Neff's labours, they were able to give me that information, concerning the exact situation and distance of the places, which I had in vain sought to obtain from other quarters. Several of the pastors had visited, and ministered in all the villages in the valleys of Queiras and Frassynière, where Protestant families were to be found; and in a small map which M. Muston, of Bobi, delineated for me, every hamlet and torrent was laid down so accurately, that I felt confident I should have no difficulty in traversing the country. But when Mrs. Gilly's determination to accompany me was communicated to them, they thought that the inconveniences and difficulties of the journey would prove too formidable to her. The distance to Dormilleuse, over a track of land every inch of which was mountainous, was represented to be more than twenty hours, or about sixty miles from Bobi. This was not reckoning the deviations right and left, which it would be necessary to make to visit San Veran, Fousillard, and Arvieux. The whole route, they said, must be performed on foot, or on saddle, for not a wheel had ever impressed

metic, geography, and music, are our studies, always beginning and ending with religious instruction. Some of them were so ignorant, that they did not know there were other countries."—*Extracts from Neff's Journals.*

its mark in some of the hamlets which we proposed to visit, and, in many places, neither horse nor mule could go in safety; but my wife was resolved to make the attempt, and on the 25th of July, we rose at half-past two in the morning, and set out from San Margarita, on our interesting journey, with my brother, and Grant, who had been our guide to Castelluzzo.

It was necessary to make some provision against the want of accommodation which we were likely to experience, and the rough weather, which every body encounters, more or less, in his passage over the higher mountains. For this reason, besides the pony which carried Mrs. Gilly, we hired an ass to convey our luggage, which I will describe for the sake of other travellers, who may be disposed to make similar excursions. Three large cloaks, one of which was water-proof; a water-proof bag, (these articles we found to answer the purpose most faithfully, and against some pitiless storms they stood proof); an inflated air bag, to serve as a seat or pillow; some tea, sugar, chocolate, biscuits, and brandy. Without these we could not have pursued our journey, for in some places we expected to find nothing but the sour wine and the black rye-bread of the country. To this list of things, absolutely indispensable, we added the equally necessary changes of linen and clothes, and a basket containing books and drawing ma-

terials. Three staves shod with iron completed our preparations.

Our first stage was Bobi. There we breakfasted at the presbytery, and at seven o'clock we were fairly embarked on our expedition, and ascending the first steeps which lead to the passage of the Alps, by the Col de la Croix. I have crossed the Alps at several points, but I know of no defile which answers more entirely to the idea, which the mind loves to picture, of a mountain-pass than this. Whether you look upon the objects in the distance before you, or at those immediately about you, as you advance, or whether you turn your eye back upon the valley which you are leaving behind, the whole scene forms a combination of unsurpassable beauty and sublimity.

We were fortunate in the weather on the first day, and the four seasons seemed to present themselves in succession before us. In the immediate vicinity of Bobi, the aspect was autumnal, the corn was cut, and perfectly ripe; a little further up the valley they were hay making, and the corn was yet green; at about three hours from Bobi, we saw spring flowers in their first bloom, the violet was just peeping out from a warm bank, on which the snow had but lately melted, and on the summit of some of the mountains we beheld icy pinnacles and mantles of snow. The Pelice, whose windings we followed during the greater part of the ascent,

had made a channel for himself through some of the most soft and inviting, and some of the most savage scenes in nature; and from delicious dells and cascades, which murmured under clusters of magnificent chesnut trees, we were transported to fields of rock, where the river thundered in cataracts, and pursued his wild course at the foot of crags, from which it was frightful to look down upon his waters.

We were sitting under the shade of a chesnut, and Mrs. Gilly was sketching one of those rude Alpine bridges, which look as if they were thrown up in a hurry, and were only meant to last for a day, when we were joined by a venerable peasant, with a wallet on his back, whose holiday garb bore the cut of "auld lang syne." His coat, waistcoat, and breeches were of a red brown; he had lappets to his waistcoat, and broad cut steel buttons to his coat; a cocked hat of enormous dimensions, and a pig-tail of corresponding length and thickness, completed his costume, and when he seated himself by our side, we felt glad of the chance which threw us in the way of such a representative of other days. He asked us, if we were the strangers who were going to Val Queiras and Val Frassynière, to visit the remnant of the Waldenses in those parts. When we answered him as he expected, he told us that he himself was a native of San Veran, and a descendant of the ancient Vaudois of Dauphiné,—that he had been to visit

some relations at San Giovanni, and was now on his return home. There was an air about the old man, which said, "I am an object of respect in the eyes of these strangers," and the feeling gave him confidence and eloquence. He amused us with anecdotes of former times, and I gathered from him, that he, like his father and grandfather, and remote ancestors, had been baptized by a Romish priest, and compelled in his youth to perform outwardly. "But," said he "we were Protestants at heart; we, and some of our neighbours, used to meet secretly, and read a Bible, which was concealed in the roof of the house; and when the Vaudois minister came to visit us from these valleys, we received the sacrament at his hands, and were exhorted to persevere in our faith, and to hope for better days; and, thank God, they came at last. The edict of Louis the Sixteenth gave us liberty of conscience, and then we avowed ourselves. The priests kept it a secret from us as long as they could, and it was many months before we learnt that we had nothing to dread for religion's sake."

Our new acquaintance accompanied us as far as Pra, and there we parted; but we saw him again at San Veran.

The picturesque, the romantic, the pastoral, and the classical, united to make this day's excursion deserving of a marked place in our journal. In one place, our path was turned by an enormous

rock, to the top of which a peasant had contrived to carry soil, and to make a garden, which was irrigated by a canal, connected by wooden troughs, supported on beams and rafters. It was literally a hanging garden. At another place, a hamlet in a singularly wild position, appeared to suspend its cabins from the face of a cliff, like a mural monument on the walls of a church, in deep relief. Again, after scrambling over a rocky and sterile tract of ground, we came suddenly upon a field of hay, or upon a flock of sheep, browsing on a green spot, the oasis of the glen. We scaled some of the heights by steps hewn out of the rock: on one we saw in the turn of the path immediately above us, a groupe of figures, whose long poles and hatchets in their hands, gave them the appearance of men who were planted there to dispute our passage. They were wood-cutters and charcoal-burners.

This defile has the traditionary honour of being that by which Hannibal crossed the Alps into Italy, and Julius Cæsar into Gaul. The former is supported by feeble evidence—the latter has more probability for its foundation. A mountain, at no great distance from this pass, and within sight, is still called the Col Julien. Francis the First is another name of renown connected with the pass of the Col de la Croix. Perhaps some of the detachments of that monarch's army may have descended into Piemont by this route, in the invasion of 1515; but it is certain that the main body

marched by the pass of the Argentière. The difficulties of this passage of the Alps do not lie so much within the compass of the defile between Bobi and the summit of the Col, as on the French side, between the Chateau Queiras and Guillestre; there the pass of the Guil presents obstacles almost insuperable to a mass advancing with such a train as an armament requires.

The fort Miraboco is now dismantled. It stood in the very narrowest part of the defile—very little of it remains. It never could have been strong enough to resist a force determined upon taking it by assault. Its guns only commanded a space of ground which might be traversed in a very few minutes, and the assailants would be under the walls of the fort before many discharges.

Near the ruins there is a fine waterfall, and an interesting spot called the Mal-Mort, where a terrible conflict took place between the Vaudois and their oppressors. It was here that we met a miserable looking way-faring man, whose reply to our salutation was made in a melancholy tone, which seemed to say, "There can be no good day to me!" He did not beg, but his appearance cried "date obolum," more imploringly than his voice could have done. Sterne would have made something of the incident.

We reached Pra, or the Bergerie du Pra, the sheepfold of the meadow, as it is sometimes called, at half-past eleven. On this Alp there is a house

opened for the reception of travellers, during the summer months, and a station of carabineers, and of custom-house officers, of the king of Sardinia. We had appointed to make this our resting-place for the day and night, in order to be present at the service and sermon, which M. Bonjour was to deliver next morning to the herdsmen, shepherds, and their families, who are depasturing their cattle on these mountains. Pra is a basin or hollow of an oval form, and about two miles in length. It produces some corn, potatoes, and grass, and is enclosed by elevated masses of rock, and green slopes, on which are some rich pasturages, but the cattle are called home and folded at night, to protect them from the wolves. These summits are terminated towards the south by the snowy peaks of Mont Viso. On the whole range of the Alps, there is not an elevation which is more pre-eminently a mountain, in character and aspect, than Mont Viso. It rises to a towering height far above all others in the same branch, and is distinguished by its white pinnacle, soaring proudly to the skies, so that be it seen in what direction it may, it cannot be mistaken. Mont Blanc and Mont Rosa, are considerably more lofty, and are also strongly marked; but there is an aspiring beauty in the form of Mont Viso, which secures recognition, and admiration in a superlative degree. I believe its summit has never yet been reached. There are different accounts of its height; some

place it as low as 9378 feet; others have reckoned it as high as 13,828. Brockedon calls it more than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. Seen from the Superga, or from any of the hills near Turin, and viewed comparatively with Mont Blanc and Mont Rosa, the spectator will not hesitate to pronounce for the greatest elevation which has been assigned to it.

It is no easy matter to reconcile the many difficulties opposed to the conjecture, that Hannibal entered Italy by the passes of Mont Viso; but certainly, if the appearance of the Alps, as described by Livy, and the view of Italy from the summit of the pass, as mentioned by Polybius, could decide the question, all travellers who have had opportunities of inspecting the different routes attributed to the Carthaginian army, would give their suffrages in favour of this. The description of the Alps (as seen from the French side), that is, of the barrier ridge, of the main chain, " altitudo montium, nivesque cœlo prope immistæ," answers to the realities of Mont Viso to the very letter: and the view of the plains of the Po, and the magnificent and extensive prospect which opens upon the eye, from the highest spine of the pass, belong exclusively to the region of Mont Viso; for at the foot of this mountain the Po rises, and is seen flowing through a rich country till it is lost in the horizon [1].

[1] This question is very ably discussed in a recent publication,

The little inn of Pra, where we took up our quarters, is the favourite resort of sportsmen, whom the fascination of danger, and the inspiring pursuit of the chamois, invite to this part of the mountains. Mr. W. Coke was here for fourteen days, and left a good name behind him, as a keen and intrepid lover of the chase. He and his party killed about five and forty chamois, if I was rightly informed, for chamois are not very plentiful here.

I am led to suppose, that of all diversions the pursuit of the chamois is by far the most alluring. Its perils seem to add charms to it; and it is a well known fact, not only that the professed chamois-hunter generally finds a grave at last among the precipices which he dares, but that he takes nothing less into account, and speaks of it as an event for which he is fully prepared. The guides, who accompany strangers through the Alpine valleys, are fond of recounting the hair-breadth escapes, and daring feats, which have come to their ears; and if it is heart-stirring to listen to these tales, I can easily imagine with what glee the youthful adventurer will engage in such enterprises.

Excitement is as necessary to some minds as food to the body, and among the hardy peasantry of the Alps, there must be many ambitious and

" Hannibal's passage of the Alps, by a member of the University of Cambridge."

craving spirits, which long for some stronger emotions than those of every day life, and will brave any thing rather than not find them. The chamois-hunter experiences them supremely. The sport carries him to scenes of unrivalled magnificence. As he traverses regions untrodden most likely by any foot but his own, he exults in the proud feeling, that he only of all mankind has breathed that air, and beheld the lonely sublimities that open upon him. He may fancy that he is lord of all he surveys, and that the fields of ice and plains of snow are all his own. He may exclaim,

"Creation's heir, the world, the world is mine."

Who has ever met a hunter of the Alps, with his staff in his hand, and his rifle slung across his shoulder, and watched his light and active step, and gallant bearing, without feeling a certain degree of inferiority, and envying the elasticity of his frame, and the joyousness of his spirits?

I have seen chamois, but never in their wild state. The animals, which I had an opportunity of examining, were confined in a large yard at Chateau Blonay, near Vevay, in Switzerland; and the activity, with which they sprung up a wall, and balanced themselves upon the slightest projections, gave me an idea of their powers. The hard horny points of the feet of the chamois, and the curvature of his horns backward, enable him to adhere

to the face of a rock where the eye can scarcely discern a resting place, and his leaps are like short flights. With such surprising agility does he bound from point to point. The chamois does not often herd in large flocks; it is rare to see more than eight or ten together, and they are so quick of sight and hearing, that the sportsman must patiently watch his opportunity, make long detours to be in a favourable position for a shot, climb terrific heights to get above them, and expose himself for days and nights before he can hope to secure the spoil. The eagerness of the pursuit often takes him along narrow ledges, by the edge of horrible precipices, and over crevices and tottering crags, which he dare not face again on his return, when his ardour is cooled; and it is upon such occasions that lives are lost.

Our accommodations at Pra were none of the best, for the house was full; and I do not mean to reveal the secrets of the chamber in which we were lodged, or the companionship amidst which we went to rest. The intelligence of the sermon had brought persons from the French as well as the Italian side of the mountain, to Pra, and every corner of the inn was filled. A large granary was spread with straw, and here many of the party slept.

Sunday, July 26. The morning was threatening, the clouds were low, and the wind high, therefore, instead of performing the service in the open air, as

is generally the case, at the mountain preachings, the granary of the Pra was prepared for the solemnity. At nine o'clock, a man ascended the roof of the auberge, and blew a loud and long blast with a conch-shell,—this he repeated at half-past nine, and at ten. The summons, I was told, might be heard at a great distance. After the first blast, we saw people approaching from different quarters, and this picturesque gathering continued for more than an hour. The service then commenced, and never did I behold a more attentive congregation. M. Bonjour's text was from Isaiah lii. 7. —" How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation, that saith unto Zion, thy God reigneth." The sermon was eloquent, appropriate, and touching. It was delivered with great animation and feeling, and seemed to make a lively impression upon his hearers. The preacher's allusions to the deliverances of Almighty God, and his preservation of the Vaudois, and to the advantages of a mountain life [1], in a religious point of view, and to removal from the temptations of

[1] Semler has observed, with great truth, that mountaineers are less addicted to the grovelling absurdities of image worship, than other people. How, indeed, can the vast and sublime objects by which they are surrounded, suffer them to accept any perishable work of man's hands, as the representative of the Great and Eternal Being who called those objects into existence.

the world, were calculated to sink deep into the heart; and not less so, his appeals to consciences, which had from early youth been awakened by those means of grace, which the Lord had vouchsafed in an especial degree to the Waldensian Church.

Our ascent of the Col de la Croix from Pra was made under torrents of rain, and such gusts of wind, that we were frequently obliged to stop for some time beneath the shelter of a rock, for fear of being blown down the side of the mountain. Two Frenchmen whom we met, advised us not to proceed; but having once mounted towards the ridge, we were obliged to advance as well as we could, for there was not even a hut to receive us between Pra on the Italian, and La Monta on the French side. The state of the weather rendered the descent difficult and even hazardous; the path, running in places along the face of a shelving slope, was so narrow, broken, and slippery, that I thought it unsafe for Mrs. Gilly to ride, and she was obliged to walk the greater part of the way. The time of crossing the Col, from Pra to La Monta, was about two hours and a half, that is to say, we were occupied so long in going over the extreme summit of the Alps, from one side to the other of the frontier line; but the real ascent and descent of the main chain should be calculated from Bobi to La Monta, or about seven hours' constant walking. The traveller is still walled in

by mountains after leaving La Monta, but as he follows the course of the Guil, through transversal valleys to Guillestre, the worst of the passage is over when the Col is surmounted.

When Strabo said, that it would require five days to reach the summit of the Alps, he was speaking of very slow progress, and must have been reckoning from the plains at the foot of the first steeps to the very summit; and even so, must have taken the Alpine range at its greatest breadth. Simler, who published his work in 1574, observing upon Strabo's statement, remarked, that in his time it would require several days to go from the plains to the top of the Alps; but added, that climbing the ridge only, the passage might possibly be achieved in one day. "We," said he, "when we talk of the ascent of the Alps, speak of the crest of the mountain, where all is cold and sterile; when we have arrived at this point, then we say, we begin to climb the summit, '*den berg angon*[1].'"

It does not enter into my present plan to detail all the particulars of my journey, in search of those embers of ancient Protestantism, or rather of the primitive churches, which yet remain in the mountain recesses of Dauphiné. I found so much to interest me, that it would require much more room than is left in this volume, to give a satis-

[1] Simleri Val. descrip. p. 185.

factory narrative of it. It will be enough to add here, that we went into most of the villages and hamlets where Neff had laboured, and never shall I forget the proofs which we witnessed of the strong devotional feeling, and pure Christian spirit implanted among the Protestant families, in Val Queiras and Val Frassynière. Neff's name is so reverenced, that it cannot be pronounced without producing a sigh or a tear, and a blessing upon his memory.

After sleeping at Abriès, we crossed a mountain, and visited Molines, Pierre-grosse, Foussillard, and San Veran. In the two latter, Protestant churches have lately been erected. From these remote places, where they had never before seen a female above the condition of a peasant, or dressed otherwise than in coarse woollen, we descended again towards the Guil, and passed a night at Chateau Queiras. The next day's walk took us to Arvieux, Chalp, and Brunichard. At Arvieux there is a Protestant church; and at Chalp the clergyman, M. Herman, resides who succeeded Mr. Neff, and who is the only minister who officiates among the scattered congregation, in the valleys of Queiras and Frassynière, between Dormilleuse and Foussillard; the two are nearly five-and-forty miles distant. He is scarcely ever at home, and takes up his habitation for a week together, now at one hamlet, and then at another. M. Herman was absent when we were at Arvieux. The day before our arrival

his wife had taken in a forlorn woman, a stranger, and her three children. The wanderer was confined the same night, and thus five were hospitably harboured. Our path to Guillestre was through a defile, where there is barely room for the torrent; the path itself in many places is hewn out of the perpendicular face of rocks, whose summits rise to the very clouds. No mountain pass that I have seen equals this in gloomy horrors. I should say its tremendous attractions exceed those of the valley of Gondo, in the passage of the Simplon.

On the fourth day after our departure from Pra, we found ourselves, for a few hours, on the high road between Embrun and Briançon, but at La Roche, we crossed the Durance, and ascended towards the Val Frassynière. We visited Palons, Frassynière, Violin, Mensals, and Dormilleuse; the three last are peopled entirely by Protestants; the whole of the Roman Catholic population of Violin and Mensals was converted by M. Neff. No Dormilleusian ever bowed his knee before an image of the Roman Church. The village of Dormilleuse, in its situation at the foot of the glacier, in its impregnable position, and in its desolate and savage aspect, answered all our high-wrought expectations. And so did the people. At Palons, a young man, who accompanied us from Guillestre, made it known that I was a Protestant clergyman. The inhabitants left their houses,

and their work in the fields, and flocked round me to entreat me to preach to them. The same at Frassynière, Violin, and Dormilleuse. I pleaded my imperfect knowledge of French, and they reluctantly gave up the point.

The scene was overpowering. We had been deeply moved at Val Queiras, but the continued excitement, added to the fatigue, was too much for our spirits, and we felt the consequences severely.

We did not sleep at Dormilleuse—in truth there was not a place where we could have laid us down with any hope of repose. We took up our lodging at La Bressie, a village near the Durance.

This visit to the Protestants of Dormilleuse, and of the valleys of Queiras and Frassynière, I may pronounce to have been intensely interesting, as well as instructive. It confirmed my belief, that, when the primitive Churches were supplanted by the Roman Church in the plains, there were branches of the old stock which still flourished in the remote mountain hamlets. Some few of these have survived. But the sight of them, and of the scattered settlements of the Waldensian remnant in Dauphiné, has left me in greater admiration than before, when I reflect that the Church of the Valleys, and its fifteen united parishes, should have been able, not only to escape extermination, but to present a front, and to make conditions for themselves, and to succeed in their demands of being

recognised as an independent, organised, and regularly constituted Church, through the most direful ages of intolerance, and in the very midst of enemies leagued to destroy it. The non-conformists of Dauphiné dwelt in a country which was quite as defensible as the valleys of Luserna, San Martino, and Perosa:—but Dormilleuse is the only village there, which never received a Romish priest, and whose inhabitants would not conform even outwardly. The shield of God is the first and principal cause to which we attribute the protection of the Vaudois of Piemont; but the secondary cause is the obligation of solemn treaties, by which the princes of the house of Savoy pledged themselves, on their first possession of the territory, and from time to time afterwards, to respect the personal and religious rights of the "Men of the Valleys;" of men who resisted the jurisdiction of Rome, and who were members of an ancient independent Church, long before the house of Savoy reigned in Piemont. These were the treaties, as I have maintained in the Introduction, by which the dukes of Savoy were bound to tolerate them, "*astretti tolerarli*," and were prevented from eradicating them [1].

[1] See page 73.

In the course of my journey through the valleys of Queiras and Frassynière, I enquired in vain for MSS. and ancient documents. Not a paper of the least value did I see.

CHAPTER XV.

Return to Piemont by Briançon and the Pass of Mont Genevre—Cesane—The Valley of Pragela—The perfidy of Louis XIV. and Victor Amadée in the extermination of the Waldenses of Val Pragela—The Col Albergian—Fenestrelle—M. Coucourde—Bartholomew Coucourde,—and anecdotes of the late Moderator Peyrano.

JULY 30. Instead of returning to Piemont by the way we came, and re-crossing the Col de la Croix, we determined to take the route to Briançon, Cesane, and Fenestrelle, for the purpose of seeing the pass of Mont Genèvre, and the remains of the old Roman road over the Cottian Alps[1], and of visiting the valley of Pragela, where there were six Waldensian churches, till the exterminating edict of Victor Amadée completed the devastation which Louis XIV. had begun.

Our track from La Bressie, where the Durance "wide and fierce came roaring by," was in the line of road laid down in the Itinerary of Antonine; but I could not satisfy myself that the distances are there correctly given. Rama is stated in the

[1] See page 56.

Itinerary to be eighteen miles from Brigantio (Briançon), but we were not three hours in walking from Bouches, the village which is directly opposite to the ancient station, said to be the Rama of the Romans, to Briançon. Rama, in the same Table of Antonine, appears to be nearly equidistant from Briançon and Embrun—whereas, according to present measurement, the difference is very great.

Near Saint Martin a peasant accosted us, and told us of the terrors of a glacier near by, where the cold is so intense, that any body who should venture to cross it would die. In the times of Hannibal, Polybius, and Livy, the ignorant natives entertained strangers with the same marvellous tales of the inaccessibility of the snowy mountains in these regions.

The approach to Briançon is magnificent. The town and its main fortress occupy a fine position on a rock, at the bottom of which the Durance rolls his foaming waters; and on the opposite side of the river, a line of bastions and battlemented walls extent to the summit of a mountain.

It was here that hundreds of English prisoners of war were detained during the reign of Napoleon, and many a heart sickened under the rigours of captivity, and the disappointment of hope deferred, amidst some of the most glorious scenes in nature.

We did not make any stay at Briançon. The archives of the Burgundian kingdom, and records

that would have served to illustrate the military history of the Cottian Alps, were formerly preserved in this frontier keep; but when the duke of Savoy burnt the town in one of the forays of 1692, they were all destroyed in the conflagration. Travellers are too much disposed to run in each others' footsteps, and to confine their attention to the well known regions of the Alps; but it would amply repay the tourist to make Briançon his head-quarters, and to explore from thence the attractive and romantic country which lies within a day's journey of it. The scenery, as described by Brockedon and others, is of the very first description. The historian would gather information relative to some of the most interesting events in border history, and the naturalist endless amusement in the quarries and forests. There are no less than 2,700 species of aromatic and other plants to be found in the vicinity of the Durance. The sportsman would not only find partridges and pheasants, but might occupy his time in the nobler pursuit of the wolf, the bear, and the chamois.

An event which occurred near Briançon will give some notion of the incidents, which emblazon mountain life and field sports in these regions.

A peasant, with his wife and three children, had taken up his summer quarters in a châlet, and was depasturing his flocks on one of the rich Alps which overhang the Durance. The oldest boy

was an idiot, about eight years of age, the second was five years old and dumb, and the youngest was an infant. It so happened that the infant was left one morning in charge of his brothers, and the three had rambled to some distance from the châlet before they were missed. When the mother went in search of the little wanderers, she found the two elder, but could discover no traces of the baby. The idiot boy seemed to be in a transport of joy, while the dumb child displayed every symptom of alarm and terror. In vain did the terrified parent endeavour to collect what had become of the lost infant. The antics of the one, and the fright of the other explained nothing. The dumb boy was almost bereft of his senses, while the idiot appeared to have acquired an unusual degree of mirth and expression. He danced about, laughed, and made gesticulations, as if he were imitating the action of one, who had caught up something of which he was fond, and hugged it to his heart. This, however, was of some slight comfort to the poor woman, for she imagined that some acquaintance had fallen in with the children, and had taken away the infant. But the day and night wore away, and no tidings of the lost child. On the morrow, when the parents were pursuing their search, an eagle flew over their heads, at the sight of which the idiot renewed his antics, and the dumb boy clung to his father with the shrieks of anguish and affright. The horrible truth then

burst upon their minds, that the miserable infant had been carried off in the talons of a bird of prey:—and that the half-witted elder brother was delighted at his riddance of an object of whom he was jealous.

On the morning in which the accident happened, an Alpen-yager

> "Whose joy was in the wilderness—to breathe
> "The difficult air of the iced mountain's top,"

had been watching near an eagle's nest, under the hope of shooting the bird upon her return to her eyry. After waiting in all the anxious perseverance of a true sportsman, he beheld the monster slowly winging her way towards the rock, behind which he was concealed. Imagine his horror, when, upon her nearer approach, he heard the cries, and distinguished the figure of an infant in her fatal grasp. In an instant his resolution was formed,—to fire at the bird at all hazards, the moment she should alight upon her nest, and rather to kill the child, than leave it to be torn to pieces by the horrid devourer. With a silent prayer and a steady aim, the mountaineer poised his rifle. The ball went directly through the head or heart of the eagle, and in a minute afterwards, this gallant hunter of the Alps had the unutterable delight of snatching the child from the nest, and bearing it away in triumph. It was

dreadfully wounded by the eagle's talons in one of its arms and sides, but not mortally; and within twenty-four hours after it was first missed, he had the satisfaction of restoring it to its mother's arms.

On the French side of the mountain, the road over Mont Genevre into Italy is still as good as when Buonaparte completed it, and gave it the name of "La Route d'Espagne en Italie." That which was but a mule-path at the beginning of the present century, is now a noble road, thirty feet wide, which ascends the face of the mountain by traverses, and measures about six miles from the foot of the first steep in the territory of France, to Cesane, the frontier Italian town, at the bottom of the declivity on the other side of this Alpine chain. We were four hours and a quarter in going from Briançon to Cesane, and again we were unfortunate in the weather. As if in sympathy with the wild scenery of the Pass, the sky was first dark and lowering, and then poured forth all its fury. We ascended and descended Mont Genevre in a storm of wind and rain.

On the highest part of the passage, we stopped to look at an obelisk, 65 feet high, which was erected, with an inscription in Latin and French, in honour of Napoleon. The inscription was defaced by the Austro-Sardinian army, which entered France by this route in 1815; and though the late French government, under Louis XVIII. and Charles X. had not the magnanimity to restore it, it is to be

hoped that the ministers of the present king will shew better taste and judgment, and not grudge the imperial engineer the honour, which he ought to share with Cottius and Augustus, as the projector of one of the noblest roads in Europe, and one which presents the shortest and easiest passage across the Alps.

The rain poured down in such torrents, that we passed the custom-house on the line of demarcation, without observing it, or being observed by the officers there. This proved to be very unfortunate.

When we crossed the Col de la Croix, we were unprovided with the necessary forms to legalize the admission of our Piemontese pony and ass into France. A native of La Monta, hearing of our dilemma, most kindly volunteered to be our *caution,* or security; but the regulations of the Douane required that we should present ourselves, and the paper signed by this gentleman, at the French custom-house on Mont Genevre. We passed it in the storm, and thus unwittingly exposed M. Gerard to the penalties of the unfulfilled conditions. On our return to La Torre, we wrote to explain the matter, and thought that all was right; but let the reader conceive my shame and distress, when I received a letter, six months after I had been at home, acquainting me that M. Gerard had been condemned to pay a fine of 110 francs, for our default, besides all the trouble and

uneasiness occasioned by the proceedings against him. The worthy man took a journey from La Monta to La Torre, to state the case to M. Bert, and to ask for the address of the strangers in whose cause he had thus suffered. Pecuniary reparation was all that I could make; but I record the circumstance in gratitude for the kindness which this French gentleman extended to a party totally unknown to him, and at his own risk. I mention it also as one of those incidents growing out of border regulations, which frequently prove so vexatious and harassing to travellers.

We arrived at Cesane, cold and wet, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and took up our lodging at a filthy and miserable inn, which, bad as it was, was the best in a town which seemed to be peopled by contrabandists and outlaws. We never liked ourselves less, whether in regard to our accommodation, or the suspicious characters among whom we found ourselves thrown. There was no other apartment with a fire in it than the kitchen of the inn, which was soon filled with a parcel of strange-looking fellows, who examined us and our baggage with a species of curiosity, which, to say the least, was unpleasant; but there was no help for it. We dried our clothes as well as we could, and at night were shewn into a room, which was open to the elements in more places than one, where we passed some sleepless hours till day-break.

July 31. Glad were we to leave Cesane at the first dawn of light; though in justice to the people of the inn, I must add, that they did their utmost to make us comfortable, but the cold, dirt, and stench of the place were intolerable.

After passing the Col Sestriere, by a road which was made as good as that over Mont Genevre, by Napoleon, but is now suffered by the king of Sardinia to fall into a wretched state, we entered the valley of Pragela.

Nothing in despotism or diplomacy was ever more infamous than the transactions by which the inhabitants of this valley were deprived of their religious rights. They originally formed part of the Waldensian community, and by virtue of the same ancient treaties, were permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. In one of the wars between the French and Piemontese, the valleys of Pragela and Perosa were wrested from the dukes of Savoy, and annexed to the crown of France; but the Protestants, until the reign of Louis XIV., remained in quiet possession of their former privileges. These, indeed, were held so sacred, that they were repeatedly made the subject of express compacts; and the French monarchs pledged themselves, and their successors, to the perpetual observance of them on their own part, and to guarantee their observance, in case of cession. "All their franchises, liberties, immunities, and privileges, both ancient and modern, shall be

confirmed to them, in the same manner *as of right* they have enjoyed them heretofore. And if at any time it shall happen that his majesty, or his successors shall be constrained to surrender them to the jurisdiction of any other, they shall be transferred with the same conditions and privileges that shall be granted to them by the present treaty, together with their ancient privileges and immunities, which, by the said transfer, shall neither be changed nor altered in any sort whatever."

Such was the obligation of the treaty of Henry IV. of France, signed 1st November, 1592, upon the Holy Bible! The treaty was again solemnly renewed, and the Most High God was invoked as a witness to it by Henry, on the 25th of March, in the following year. His son, Louis XIII., confirmed it in the camp of Moustier, in the month of June, 1630[1]. Where was the faith of kings, when the son of one of these monarchs, and the grandson of the other, when Louis Bourbon transferred the inhabitants of Val Pragela to the Duke of Savoy, in 1713, not only without the conditions so sacredly guaranteed, but *with the express stipulation*, that the Protestants of the ceded valley should be deprived of all those religious privileges and rights, to which his predecessors had pledged themselves and him? The Waldenses of the valley of Pragela have been exterminated, in conformity with a secret compact made between

[1] See vol. J. Morland MSS. in the Cambridge library.

Louis XIV. and Victor Amadée, but in violation of the most binding treaties between the Bourbons and the Waldenses. And where are the Bourbons now? Righteous art thou, O Lord!

What adds to the infamy of this deed of oppression and perjury, is the fact, that previously to its execution, the king of Sardinia, Victor Amadée, had engaged, in a treaty between himself and Queen Anne, signed in 1704, to leave the inhabitants of Val Pragela, "*in the free exercise of their religion,*" should that valley be ceded to him by France. Victor signed this compact, and five years afterwards wrote a letter to the British sovereign, giving his royal word, not only that the rights of the Protestants of this region should be observed "*out of regard to the engagements of the treaty,*" but that, for her Majesty's sake, "every attention should be paid to her royal pleasure upon the subject of the inhabitants of the valley of Pragela." But the moment the transfer was made, he sent his troops into the devoted territory, and compelled every Protestant to renounce his faith, or to expatriate himself. The cries of the banished and the imprisoned at length reached the ears of Mr. Hedges, the British ambassador at Turin. This was in the year 1727. Mr. Hedges presented a memorial to the king of Sardinia, and made strong remonstrances in behalf of the complainants. He recited the article of the treaty of 1704, the promises given to Queen Anne, and the

obligation of ancient engagements; and he pressed his expostulations with an importunity, which at last put the court to their shifts; and the following is the substance of the answer which he received: "The king of Sardinia cannot fulfil the promises given to Queen Anne in 1704, with regard to the inhabitants of the valley of Pragela, because he is bound by the seventh article of the treaty made at Turin in 1696, between the king of France and himself, not to tolerate the Protestant religion in any of the provinces ceded, or to be ceded, by France[1]." Such was the perfidy of Victor Amadée. Mr. Hedges was recalled soon after receiving this specimen of diplomatic treachery; his successor failed to espouse the cause of the injured Protestants with the same zeal; the work of extermination went on, and it has been executed so effectually, that every vestige of the Waldensian Church is effaced in the valley of Pragela.

As we passed through the lovely glens, where the sanctuaries of our own faith once stood, we frequently enquired if any Protestants were left. Not one! was the invariable reply. The inhabitants dare not avow the religion of their forefathers; but I was assured by persons on the other side of the Clusone, that there are many secret adherents to the ancient persuasion. One

[1] See the correspondence of Mr. Hedges in the State Paper Office.

informant acquainted me, that a relation of his in these parts had begged for a Bible or New Testament; and another related, that the peasants who go into the Val San Martino, from the Val Pragela, for work, very frequently attend service at the Vaudois churches. The vicinity of the fortress of Fenestrelle rendered the success of bayonet conversion more easy, than it would have been in many other districts.

It was a melancholy journey through this valley, notwithstanding the grandeur of the landscape, for we could not forget that every hamlet had been the scene of recent oppression. In our excursion through the valleys of Queiras and Frassynière, on the other side of the Alps, we saw that the people of God were not forsaken; but here we might have desponded, but for that recollection, at the sight of persons whose grandfathers had been forced to allow their children to be baptised according to the forms of a Church which they believed to be in error. "In this valley," observed Perrin [1] in 1618, "there are at this day six goodly churches, every one having their pastor, and every pastor having

[1] This extract is from a translation of Perrin, in a book called "Luther's Fore-runners;" and I gladly take this opportunity of thanking the unknown friend, who sent it me, with the following note:—"An individual, unknown to Mr. Gilly, who has lately read his visit to the Waldenses, sends him a very scarce historical book of that interesting community." I had often tried, but unsuccessfully, to pick up this rare volume.

divers villages, all filled with those who have descended from the ancient Waldenses. They are churches truly Protestant time out of mind. Their old people, (and some are about a hundred years old,) have never heard from their fathers or grandfathers, that mass was ever sung in their country. And though perhaps the Archbishop of Turin may have caused it to be sung in the said valley, the inhabitants have no knowledge of it, and there is not any amongst them that makes profession of any other faith or belief, than the confession of which we have been speaking." What a change! Now, there is not a living creature in all these villages who dares refuse to go to mass!

The Clusone was to our right, and beyond it rose a chain of mountains, which separates the valley of San Martino from that of Pragela. Above the rest towers the lofty and picturesque Col Albergian, or Albergo, so called in memory of one of the most terrible events which the Waldensian history recounts. In the autumn of 1400, the non-conformists were attacked from the side of Susa, but repulsed their adversaries. On Christmas-day, they were surprised by the advance of an overwhelming force, and were obliged to fly from their houses, and to take refuge in the caverns and hollows of the mountains. The next morning, eighty infants, and many of their mothers, were found dead among the rocks. Many others were so benumbed with cold, that they never recovered the use of their

limbs. When the news of this dreadful catastrophe reached the ears of the enemy, the mountain was called, in unfeeling jest, the Albergo, or "lodging-house of the heretics."

After traversing the whole length of the valley of Pragela, and passing through the villages of Traversa, Choucherons, Sutière, Fraissé, and Pourmiére, we arrived at Fenestrelle, in seven hours from Cesane, and were most hospitably received there by M. Coucourde, a Vaudois resident in the town. After a week of no common fatigue, and some "adventures sufficiently disagreeable in the advent, but full of poesy in the remembrance," as Mr. Galt expresses it, it was an unspeakable luxury to find ourselves in clean apartments, and enjoying the refreshing attentions of a family, who understand the value of well ventilated rooms, and the use of cold water.

M. Coucourde enjoys some place under government at Fenestrelle, a favour rarely extended to a Vaudois, but by his long services, and well known fidelity, he has rendered himself so worthy of notice, that he is not likely to be removed. His father held the same situation, and ingratiated himself with a former sovereign by some signal service; but all the royal influence was not sufficient to obtain the restoration of a daughter who was kidnapped, and taken to a convent. In vain did the parents implore, and the king protest, the sacerdotal power was stronger than the royal, and

the girl remained shut up within monastic walls, till the French authorities superseded the house of Savoy, and released her. Strange to say, she died, under very suspicious circumstances, soon after reaching the paternal abode. The history of the whole family is full of interest. The wife of M. Coucourde was the daughter of the moderator Peyrani. His brother is now physician to the hospital at La Torre, after serving with reputation in the medical staff with the French army in Spain. His eldest son, Bartholomew, was educated by his grandfather Peyrani, and has already experienced many of the sad vicissitudes of life. He studied at Turin, and passed examination for a surgeon's diploma; but as soon as he was qualified to practise, his course was arrested by the withering edict, which closes the door of the honourable professions against the Vaudois. He next entered a mercantile house at Turin. The house failed; and when we visited his father at Fenestrelle, we found him there an unwilling and melancholy idler, who would gladly devote himself to any employment which he could obtain. He earnestly requested that I would endeavour to recommend him as travelling companion to some gentleman, to whom he might be useful as a linguist and secretary. Since my return to England, I received a letter from him, dated Marseilles, in which he informed me, that he was picking up a precarious subsistence there, as notary's writer.

A traveller from the valleys has spoken of Bartholomew Coucourde, as one of the most interesting persons he had long met with [1]. To me he was the same, and his anecdotes and reminiscences of that extraordinary man, his grandfather Peyrani, were deeply moving, and, I may add, heart-rending. M. Peyrani was scarcely ever free from pain. His headaches were acute, and of frequent recurrence, yet they rarely disturbed his vivacity and good humour, or interrupted his incessant studies and labours; whatever he read, or heard repeated, he remembered, and his memory was a treasure-house of such inexhaustible resources, that he was able to draw upon it without the least apparent effort. His knowledge was consequently profound and various; but perhaps it would have been happier for him, had his talents not been of the highest order, for he had all that carelessness about the ordinary, but necessary, concerns of domestic life, which is too often the defect of great genius.

His private affairs were in confusion; he never could refuse to give others assistance, however urgent his own condition; his books, and the public demands upon his attention, diverted his thoughts from his own wants, and those of his children; and he lived and died in a state of the most deplorable poverty. But in the midst of all his

[1] Bracebridge's Authentic Details of the Valdenses, p. 41.

destitution of the comforts, and even of the conveniences of life, he was not only in correspondence with some of the first men in Europe, but his humble dwelling was frequently honoured by people of distinction, who came out of their way to discourse with him. The Count Crotti, Intendant of the province, was very fond of his conversation, and once took him in his carriage to Pinerolo, and having introduced him to the episcopal palace, provoked a theological discussion between the Moderator of the Vaudois, and the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese.

A military officer of high rank and accomplishments, who prided himself upon the address, with which he could discuss most topics, heard of Peyrani's renown as a controversialist, and sought an opportunity of entering the lists with him. The aged pastor was victor in every tilt. At last the general determined to try his strength on ground which he considered entirely his own, the principles and science of Gunnery. But here also he found Peyrani equally upon his guard; and confessed with great candour, that he was more than a match for him. One more anecdote is sufficient to shew the estimation, in which he was held, and the general opinion of his abilities. When he died, it was said, exultingly, by a Roman Catholic divine of some eminence—"Now Peyrani is dead, we shall soon succeed in making the valleys our own!" This person understood the value of Peyrani's

genius and influence, but he little knew the difficulty of converting the Vaudois, nor did he take into account the number of able and zealous men in the Waldensian Church, who yet remain to uphold the cause of Protestantism.

CHAPTER XVI.

Fenestrelle. Perosa. Pomaretto. The Grave and Epitaph of Peyrani. Second Visit to the Valley of San Martino. Pont de la Tour, and attempt at assassination. San Germano. Memorials of English buried there. Roccapiatta. Prarustino. Return to la Torre. Reflections upon the present and past condition of the Waldensian Church in France and Italy.

1st AUGUST. After having been permitted to inspect the fortress of Fenestrelle[1], where we gazed with admiration on its covered way of 4800 steps, and its 140 brass cannon, but grudged the English treasure with which it was built; we bade farewell to our amiable host, and proceeded to pay a second visit to the valley of San Martino, under the guidance of M. Bartholomew Coucourde. We followed the high road till we arrived at Perosa, and then turned off to the right,

[1] There are several state prisoners in this fortress. One is a colonel who was implicated in the political movements of 1821. Another is a French priest, who finds an asylum rather than a prison here, after having violated and murdered a young girl belonging to his parish.

towards Pomaretto, by the same path which I had taken in the winter of 1823. The country now appeared under a new aspect, and as I gazed upon the smiling vineyards and rich corn-fields, with which the mountain sides were covered, I could not but ask myself, "Is this the Pomaretto, which I thought a dreary spot, when I first visited it?"

Before we entered the village, we made a pilgrimage to the new church and church-yard; but I find it impossible to describe our reflections as we stood over the grave of Peyrani, surrounded by his son and grandson, and nephew, Timoleon Peyrani. Six years have but just passed away since my interview with him, and now the sods that cover him have nearly sunk to the level of the ground; the letters, that were faintly traced upon his rude tomb-stone, are almost obliterated, and in a few years nothing will remain to mark the place where his ashes repose: so neglected is the spot which is called the cemetery of Pomaretto. Two English travellers have already recorded his simple epitaph in their pages, and one, Mr. Bracebridge, has given a sketch of the ground where he sleeps. But I cannot refrain from making it a thrice-told tale, and transcribing the inscription, which is fast fading away, on the small rough stone, which does not even stand upright above the grave, but totters over it, and will soon fall to pieces. "J. R. L. S. Peyran, Pasteur et Mode-

rateur né le 11 Dec. 1752, Mort le 26 Avril, 1823." The initials represent Jean, Rodolphe, Louis, Samuel. The words are not placed in epitaphic order, but run according to the number of letters, that could be huddled together on the breadth of the stone [1]. Near by repose the bodies of the moderator's brother, Ferdinand Peyrani of Pramol, and of his daughter Madame Coucourde. Equally perishable stones, and fading inscriptions, distinguish the places where they are deposited.

The church-yard is unenclosed. It is small, and nothing separates it from a vineyard and corn-field, but it is picturesquely situated, and commands some very interesting views.

[1] Measures have been taken to erect a marble tablet within the porch of the church, in memory of the late Moderator Peyrani, with the following inscription :—

S. M.
JOHANNIS RODULPHI LUDOVICI SAMUELIS PEYRANI,
Qui, post vitam aliorum non sui omnino studiosam,
Obiit anno { Salutis 1823, / Ætatis suæ 72,
Ecclesiæ Vallensis Presbyter et Moderator,
Literis Humanis et Sacris apprime Doctus,
Nequaquam glorians nisi in Cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi,
In Patriam et Religionem intemerata fide notus,
Animo erga Omnes benevolus,
Operibus ingenii non autem præmiis felix.
Ne bene merenti, cui vivo deerant fere omnia,
Deesset etiam mortuo tumulus,
Hoc tandem posito marmore curavit
Alienigena.

The church of Pomaretto is a handsome new building, calculated to hold 1000 persons, which was lately erected at the cost of more than 16,000 francs, to which the late Emperor Alexander and his mother contributed. On the pediment, there is this inscription:—

Ce temple a été construit sous le regne de notre gracieux Souverain Charles Felix. David Ribet Entrepreneur. L'an de salut 1828.

I grieve to add, that it has nearly been the ruin of the poor fellow, David Ribet, whose name appears as the builder. He contracted to finish it for 11,598 francs, and the materials of the old church; and such was his zeal for the honour of his religion and of his parish, that he persevered in completing it in the most substantial style, though it was evidently a losing concern. The consequence was, that it cost him 16,402 francs: and the 4,800 francs expended above his contract, is a sum far beyond that, which a person of his scanty means can conveniently meet. He has been assisted by some small contributions in Pomaretto and elsewhere, but the deficit remains very large and pressing.

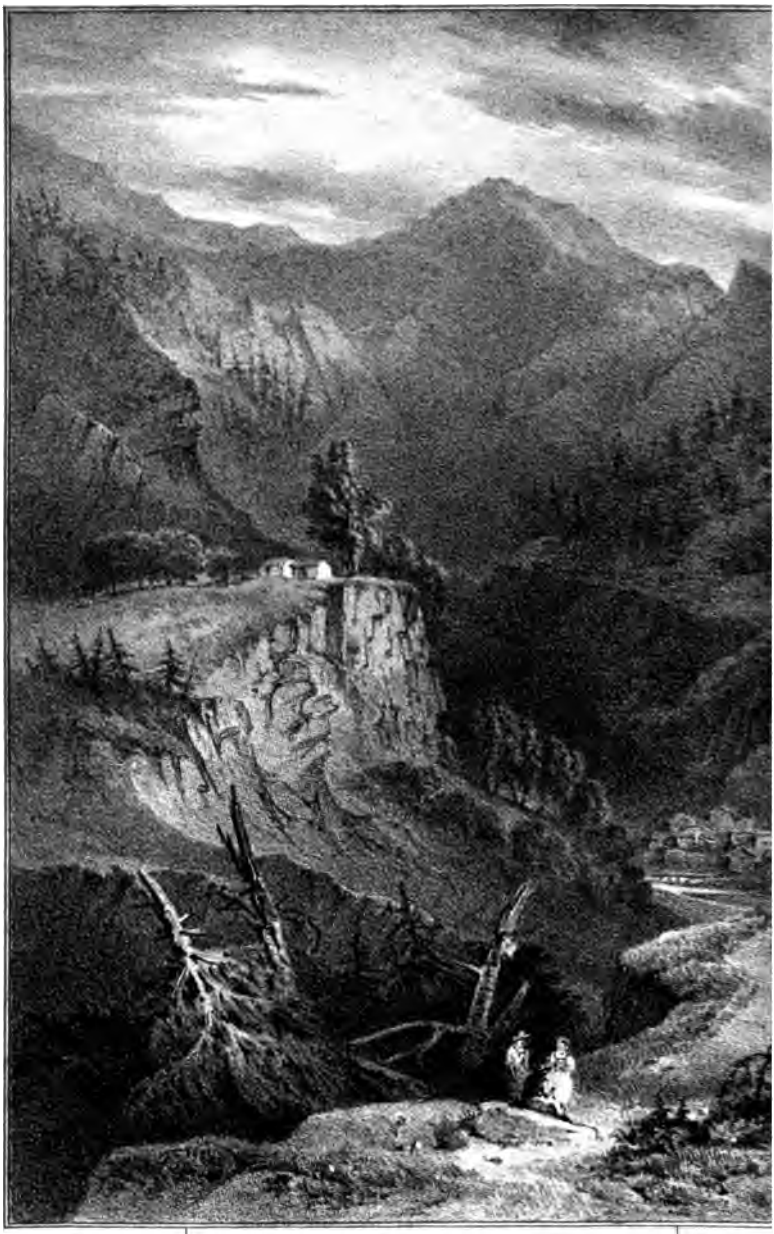
After inspecting the dispensary of Pomaretto, where the surgeon, M. Droghero, conducted us through the nice clean apartments, which are fitted up for the reception of nine patients, we were received with a hearty welcome at the pres-

bytery, by M. Jalla, who insisted upon our dining with him, though our party was by this time swelled to eight or ten, by friends who met us at Perosa, and came with us into Pomaretto. These kind attentions were exceedingly gratifying; and we never left one village or entered another, in our journeys through the Vaudois communes, without being accompanied by several of the warm-hearted inhabitants, who seemed to adopt this mode of shewing us civility. It was pleasing to observe how hospitably these companions of our walk were hailed in with ourselves to the houses where we stopped, and how readily they accepted the invitation, without appearing to think for a moment that they were intruders.

M. Jalla is one of those unassuming village pastors, who steal into the hearts of their people by modest worth, and genuine benevolence. His acts of kindness to the sons of his predecessor have been countless.

In the afternoon, Mrs. Gilly and I proceeded, by the communes of Villa Secca and Perero, to Massel, where we were entertained at the house of M. Tron. My brother was unwell, and returned to La Torre from Pomaretto.

Next morning, August 2, we found our way to the Balceglia, and at the foot of an immense fir tree, near the spot from whence the French artillery played upon the Vaudois, who defended the first position, or lower terrace, Mrs. Gilly sketched



THE BALCHGLIA.

n Stone by F. Micholson

From a Sk

Printed by Engelmann & Co.

the striking objects before us. Below, on our right, were seen the village of Balceglia, with the bridge and mill: on the left was the bridge by which the enemy attempted to cross the torrent, and to attack the chateau. The three points, occupied successively by the Vaudois, rise one above the other in strongly marked lines, and so rugged and precipitous is the ascent to each, that it is no wonder that the assailants were so long kept at bay. The Vaudois escaped, when they could hold out no longer, by a path over the Guignivert, which, under any other circumstances, it would have been frenzy to attempt.

On our way back from the Balceglia to Massel, the descent in places was so abrupt, that the pony, which carried Mrs. Gilly was held back by two or three men, to prevent his tumbling headlong down the steep. The attentive kindness of M. and Madame Tron would have been sufficient to tempt us to stay several days under their roof, but we had promised to pay a visit to Prali, and we so far kept our word, as to pass one night at the presbytery of M. Peyrani, having found our way there by crossing the Salse mountain from Massel, by Fontana and Guardiol: but we were both so ill, and suffering so severely from the effects of our rough journey into Dauphiné, as to be apprehensive of the consequences of being laid up in this remote village. We therefore rose early on the morning

of the 3d of August, and took leave of the pastor and his kind-hearted wife, after having had scarcely any conversation with them. In passing the cascade of Rodoret, my wife exerted herself, and made an endeavour to take a drawing of it, but it was finished afterwards from recollection, and cannot therefore boast of being correct in all its features.

The scenery in Val Martino changes, frequently and rapidly, from the most harsh and rugged aspect to that of the most attractive beauty. Stupendous cliffs and terrific precipices[1] give place to verdant and flowery spots, and a turn of the mountain path, by the torrent side, would bring us out of a deep cleft of rock, where our feet were bruised by the stones, to a bank of lavender, or a green plateau of herby grass, soft as a carpet; or to a sunny nook, where the little property of corn land is cultivated, like the patriarchal inheritances of the ancient tribes of Israel, by father and son from generation to generation. The Germanasca[2], whose waters we followed, was of

[1] The pony which carried Mrs. Gilly, would always press so near the edge of these precipices, as to render it not a little alarming. Our guide said it was impossible to prevent it; the animal enjoyed the current of air that came from the gulf below.

[2] In the course of our journey this day, and particularly near Perero, we were tormented by a large fly, which had all the voracity and venom of Virgil's Asilus, and seemed to haunt the

CASCADE OF RODORET. VAL ST MARTIN.

the same changing character. The deafening roar of his flood almost stunned us in some places, and soon afterwards, we came to a deep still pool of azure blue, where he seemed to rest for a while, before he pursued his impetuous course again, and where we felt that we could be tempted to sit for hours with Isaac Walton's Angler, or poor Sir Humphrey Davy's Salmonia, in our hand, and enjoy the repose of the scene.

As we passed through Clots, we took the opportunity of looking into the girls' school again, and then pursued our way to Perosa, by the common route over the Pont de la Tour. This, however, is not the rude construction of which we read in Leger's work, nor is it on the same spot; but it is a convenient stone bridge, somewhat nearer to Pomaretto than that which the historian thus describes:— "The valley of San Martino is often rendered inaccessible by the snow, and cannot be entered except by a cleft in the rocks, which is called La Pont de la Tour, and is only wide enough for the channel of the river, or rather the wild torrent, Germanasca, above which there is a bridge thrown, at a very great elevation. This abuts on each side upon the frightful rocks, from which the

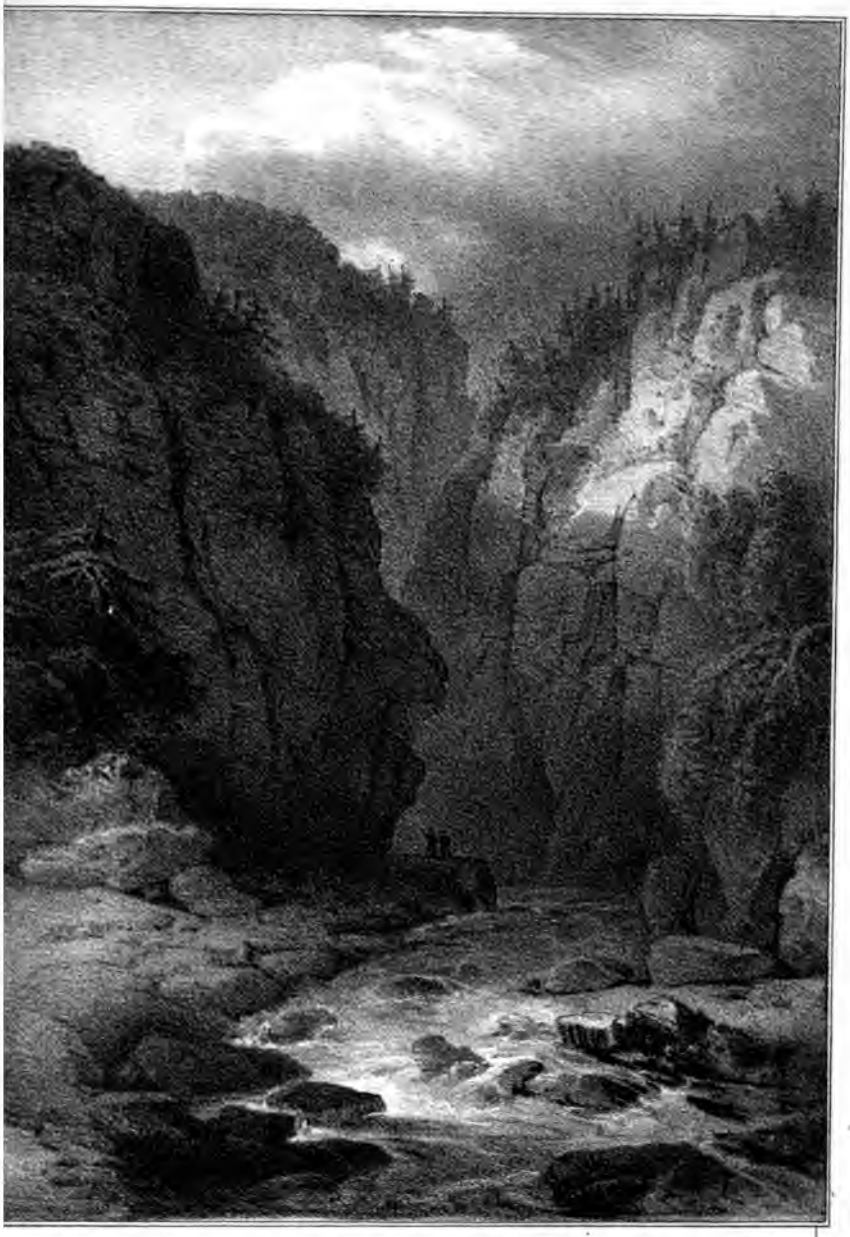
same sort of spot, the groves and dry banks of the Germanasca *. The flanks and neck of the pony were absolutely bathed in blood under its bite.

* Georgic. Lib. 3. 146.

mountains rise, which close in the valley, and out of which a path has been hewn with great difficulty, just wide enough for the passage of a horse or mule. When the bridge is taken away, and it is very easy to remove it, it is impossible to enter the valley; and should intruders be so hardy as to attempt to replace the bridge, a few women would be able to prevent them, by rolling fragments of stone upon them from the rocks above[1]."

The annexed sketch represents this formidable pass, over which the Alpine bridge of Leger was suspended; but the narrow path has been widened, and strengthened by masonry work, so that what was formerly a mule path, is now a tolerably good carriage road, as far as Perero. In the darkest part of the pass, a murderous attack was made upon a native of Villa Secca some years ago. The assassin stabbed him, and after rifling his pockets, left him for dead. In this condition he was found, and restored to consciousness, and eventually to health; but the poor man's mind was so affected, that he never afterwards dare move from his own door alone. The robber was a neighbour of his, who, being a Roman Catholic, fled to an asylum; but having begged pardon and made his peace with his intended victim, he was soon permitted by the laws to be at large, as if nothing had happened.

[1] Leger, Liv. 1. 5.



A VAUDOIS PASS ON THE GERMANASCA.
NEAR THE PONT DE LA TOUR.

F. Michelson Printed by Engelmann & Co. From a Sketch by Mr. W. Gilly.

We dined at Perosa at the house of M. Droghero, surgeon to the dispensary, where a large party of Vaudois were invited to meet us by our entertainer; and though our host and one or two of the guests were not Protestants, yet the conversation was as unreserved, and Waldensian affairs were as much the subject of conversation, as if we were all of one mind. The Vaudois are universally held in the highest estimation by their neighbours of the mistress Church, and mutual confidence subsists between them; a fact which is equally creditable to both parties.

From Perosa, we followed the banks of the Clusone, and took up our quarters for the night at the presbytery of M. Monet, pastor of San Germano.

August 4, San Germano. This is a lovely village on the Clusone, containing about 1000 Protestants, and 350 or 400 Roman Catholics. It has one central school, and nine small schools in the hamlets, which are picturesquely spread upon the acclivities, which rise towards Pramol on one side, and Rocca-piatta on the other. Its venerable pastor is gently descending into the vale of years. Formerly he had the church of Val Queiras under his charge; and Madame Monet is a native of Arvieux, who was baptized by a Romish priest, and obliged during her youth to conceal her religious sentiments. She amused us with tales of the times when the Waldenses of Val Queiras used to meet in cellars, and caverns, and lonely

places, to pray and read the Scriptures together. She herself had been present amidst such congregations, and remembered when a watch used to be set, and a line of sentinels planted themselves in communication with the place of meeting, so as to guard against surprise. Speaking of the religious customs of the Waldenses of Val Queiras, she told me that they always knelt when the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was received, and when the Ten Commandments were recited [1].

After visiting the girls' school, conducted by Madame Long, daughter of the late M. Geymet, pastor of La Torre, where we were extremely gratified by the progress which the children were making, (one, a child of six years of age, had made twelve shirts, and was then knitting a pair of stockings), we next directed our steps to the church, a spacious, clean, and convenient building, suitable to a congregation of ten or eleven hundred people.

San Germano being at no great distance from Pinerolo, and so communicating with Turin by a good road, is the spot to which the English frequently bring the bodies of their friends, who die in the capital of Piemont, for burial. It was, therefore, with no common interest that I read the memorials of several of my countrymen, whose

[1] I have omitted to state in chap. iii. p. 219, that the Ten Commandments are always recited in the churches of the valleys of Piemont during divine service.

remains repose within this Protestant sanctuary. Among others, there is an affecting inscription on a tablet, near the grave of the two children of Mr. Charles Badham, who died at Turin in 1814. M. Monet shewed me a letter from the afflicted father, which it was torturing to read. From the church we went to the cemetery of San Germano—one of the most beautiful spots in all the world, and walled in, a privilege not often conceded to the Vaudois. It is surrounded by walnut-trees, within sight and sound of the Clusone on one side, and of the village church and bells on the other, and in the immediate vicinity of all that is most pleasing to the senses. San Germano itself is embosomed among mountains; and when we visited its romantic scenes, the air was soft and balmy, and every thing announced that we might deliver ourselves up to the full enjoyment of an Italian climate. Just as we entered the cemetery, I saw before me, upon a pillar supporting the porch, an English epitaph in memory of the father-in-law of Mr. Casborne, the early friend of my school-boy and college days. I was not aware that he was buried here, and the accidental sight of his tomb raised a variety of mingled emotions not easy to be restrained.

"Beneath this stone are deposited the remains of Capel Loft, who was lord of the manors of Troston and Stanton, in the county of Suffolk, England, born in London, 25th November, 1752, died at Moncaliere, 26th May, 1824."

Our road to La Torre lay through San Bartholomeo, and Prarustino, by a beautiful path, shaded by chesnuts, and over a richly diversified country. We were accompanied by M. Monet, and the Moderator, and the latter introduced me to his son, M. C. A. Rostaing, the pastor of Prarustino. This young clergyman answered my expectations in every respect. He is active, well-informed, and devoted to the duties of his calling. His flock are sensible of the value of such a pastor, and are building a good house, which he is to occupy under the name of the " Maison de Consistoire." The old presbytery, a small and dilapidated building, is at Rocca-piatta, and when the Protestants of Prarustino asked permission of the superior authorities to erect a residence for their minister, in a more convenient and populous part of the parish, a Romish confessor whispered objections into the princely ear, and one of the highest magistrates of the state condescended to write upon the petition, " Non mi piace." This breath of royal displeasure dissipated the hopes of the people of Prarustino; but it was intimated to, or understood by them, that although they might not build a new presbytery for their Waldensian pastor, they might erect a " Maison de Consistoire" for themselves, and allow him to take up his abode in it.

The church of Prarustino has lately been completed, and is a very handsome building. It is large, and has all the character of a sanctuary, and pre-

sents to view on the Lord's day the richest ornament of which a Christian temple can boast—a full congregation. The cemetery is at no great distance from the church, and, from its unenclosed ground, commands one of the finest prospects in Piemont. The meanderings of the Clusone and the Pelice, and the rich lands through which they wander, are seen to great advantage, with Turin and the Superga in the extreme distance. Were I a Vaudois pastor, Prarustino should be my choice.

> " Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
> Angulus ridet."

There are not indeed, here, the grander and more imposing forms of mountain majesty, but cottages half concealed amidst luxuriant foliage, fair fields of corn, streams that murmur through groves and glades, where the grass is always verdant, even in sultry weather, and an undulating surface, which sometimes swells into lofty hills; these form such a lovely picture of enjoyment, and apparent repose, as I have seldom seen in other places. And here, too, I believe there is the moral attraction of an orderly and devout flock, who are united to their pastor by the firmest of all bands—affection and respect. There are only forty-five Roman Catholics in the parish, and most of these are strangers, or settlers of recent date. The Protestants in Prarustino, San Bartholomeo, and Rocca-piatta, amount to about 1800. There

is a church *annexée* in the latter. One central school, nine hamlet schools, and a girls' school, instituted by Mr. Sims, which I hope will be continued, occupy much of the attention of the young pastor, from whom we parted with every sentiment of esteem and admiration.

We reached La Torre, on the evening of the 4th of August, by a path through the woods which lie between Prarustino and San Giovanni; and happy, indeed, were we to find ourselves again within the walls of M. Bert's comfortable and hospitable dwelling, after eleven days absence, and no small fatigue and discomfort.

This journey into Dauphiné, and my return by the valleys of Pragela, San Martino, and Perosa, carried me into the fastnesses of the ancient Waldenses, both on the French and Italian side of the Alps, and excited new emotions and new sympathies. I have now planted my foot in every village, which is most sacred in Waldensian history; and have surveyed most of those spots, which in their seclusion or natural strength, have been the asylums of the persecuted. And what an illustration do they present of the inscrutable wisdom of Providence, in the different fate of primitive Churches built upon the same confession, composed of people of not dissimilar habits and dispositions, and established in provinces, where the face of the country and its resources are nearly the same! Let the reader carry his eye over the

map which delineates the seat of the old Waldenses. The Subalpine congregations on the French frontier, who dwelt in the mountains which débouche upon the Durance and the Guil, were scattered before the sword and torch, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, with the exception of a very small remnant: but this remnant that escaped is now again taking root downward, and bearing fruit upward.

The Waldenses of the Marquisate of Saluzzo have utterly come to an end: those of whom the historians of the sixteenth century spoke, as a light miraculously preserved from time immemorial. Charles Philibert signed the warrant of their extermination in 1603. They had settlements as far south as Acceglia and Drovero, and in the hamlets on the right bank of the Maira, but not a vestige of them now remains.

The six Churches of the valley of Pragela, the two near Susa, Meana, and Mathié, and the congregations on the northern banks of the Clusone, which were in communion with their brethren on the opposite side, between Fenestrelle and Pinerolo, were so important as to become the objects of express and solemn treaty with Henry IV., and his son Louis XIII[1]. At the period of the fearful massacres of 1655, and long afterwards, the Churches of Pragela not only had rest, but were enjoying

[1] See pp. 479, 480.

such prosperity, that Leger described their condition in glowing terms like these. "I have not yet mentioned the beautiful and extensive valley which lies contiguous to that of Perosa, and of San Martino, where the Gospel truth has ever been, and is now preserved in all purity by the grace of God, in six glorious and flourishing churches, where there has never been any intermixture of Roman Catholics, save one priest, who lives at Mantoules, and has nobody to be present at mass with him, except his clerk, and a few occasional passengers, unless some Jesuits have lately been sent by the Council for the extermination of heretics, from the nest at Fenestrelle. Thanks be to God, these Churches, under the protection of the kings of France, have not suffered the horrible persecutions, which have been inflicted on their brethren in the vicinity: but God has spared them, as he did those of the valley of Queiras, on the side of the valley of Luserna, that they might serve as an asylum for the fugitives from the dominions of the duke of Savoy."

But these Churches were spared no longer than the beginning of the last century, their candlesticks were then removed.

Thus the light was extinguished on all sides of the three valleys of our more particular enquiry; and he who looks on the chart of the Waldensian territory, will find one little spot only, where the primitive Church has ever been permitted to survive

in a visible form, amidst the chances and changes which proved destructive to all around. And the Church of the Alps has been reduced even here in her once strong hold, and we have to mourn, with Leger, over the diminished number of her pastors. That historian affirms, that previously to the spoliations, which deprived him of many valuable documents, he had MSS. in his own possession, which recorded acts of synod, by which it appeared, that in the valleys of Luserna and San Martino, the Vaudois clergy were formerly much more numerous than they are now. He then makes mention of Rodoret and Macel [1], and Faetto, of Taluc, Revangie, Tagliaretta, Bezze, Val Guichard, and Combe des Charbonniers, as having been distinct cures with separate pastors [2]. Such has been the work of extermination in these regions, under princes like Louis XIV. of France, and Charles Philibert, and Charles Emanuel, and Victor Amadée, of Savoy; and yet these were the sovereigns who were called by their parasites, the fathers of their people! Their paternity was like that of Saturn, who devoured his children.

[1] I shall have to shew presently that pastors have been provided recently for the cures of Rodoret and Macel, see p. 519.

[2] Leger, liv. i. 10.

I could not bid adieu to these mountain scenes without making a second attempt to discover the cavern of Castelluzzo; and M. Bert having seen two persons, named Chanforan and Ricca, natives of Bonetti, the hamlet immediately under Castelluzzo, who professed to have found their way into the cavern in their youth, we put them in requisition as guides; and at five o'clock in the morning of the 14th of August, my brother and I set out upon an expedition, for which we made better preparations than before. We were accompanied by M. Bonjour, M. Revel, a Vaudois who is settled in Holland, but who was then on a visit to his native valleys, by my servant, and the afore-named peasants. We were provided with a strong rope ladder, made by my brother, with a spade, a pick-axe, hatchets, lanterns, and cords, and directed our steps towards the mighty rock, in whose bosom the grotto was supposed to be, by Copia and Bonetti. At Bonetti we inspected the remains of an ancient church, part of which is now used as a hamlet school. A large archway has the appearance of having formed part of an aisle, and bears marks of greater antiquity than any other construction which I have noticed in these parts. In the interior of the sacred ruin, a noble vine occupies the place where the pulpit probably stood. The numerous small churches, which are still found, more or less dilapidated, in the upper

hamlets, confirm the assertions of Leger[1], and give sanction to the tradition that 140 barbes formerly ministered in the Waldensian Church.

Making a detour by Borel, we arrived at the same spot to which Grant had conducted us on the 6th of July[2], and which he represented to be the place from which the descent into the cavern must be made. Nothing presented itself to the eye, which gave the slightest idea that the wall of rock, down which we looked with shuddering gaze, contained an accessible hiding place, large enough to admit 400 people.

Chanforan and Ricca pulled off their shoes and stockings, stripped off their upper garments, and looked as if they were rallying their courage for an exploit. Two young peasants who had joined us, the one twenty years old, the other sixteen, signified their intention to follow the two elder mountaineers, at all risk; and the coolness with which they stood over the precipice, and moved along its dizzy edge, satisfied us, that they had nerve enough for any thing. When the guides were ready for the descent, they addressed their countrymen, M. Bonjour and M. Revel, and told them, that they would not dare to go down. "Then what will our friends do?" said they. "They are English," replied Chanforan, "and will break their necks,

[1] See p. 507 [2] See Chapter V.

rather than turn back." The compliment was more to my brother's taste than to mine.

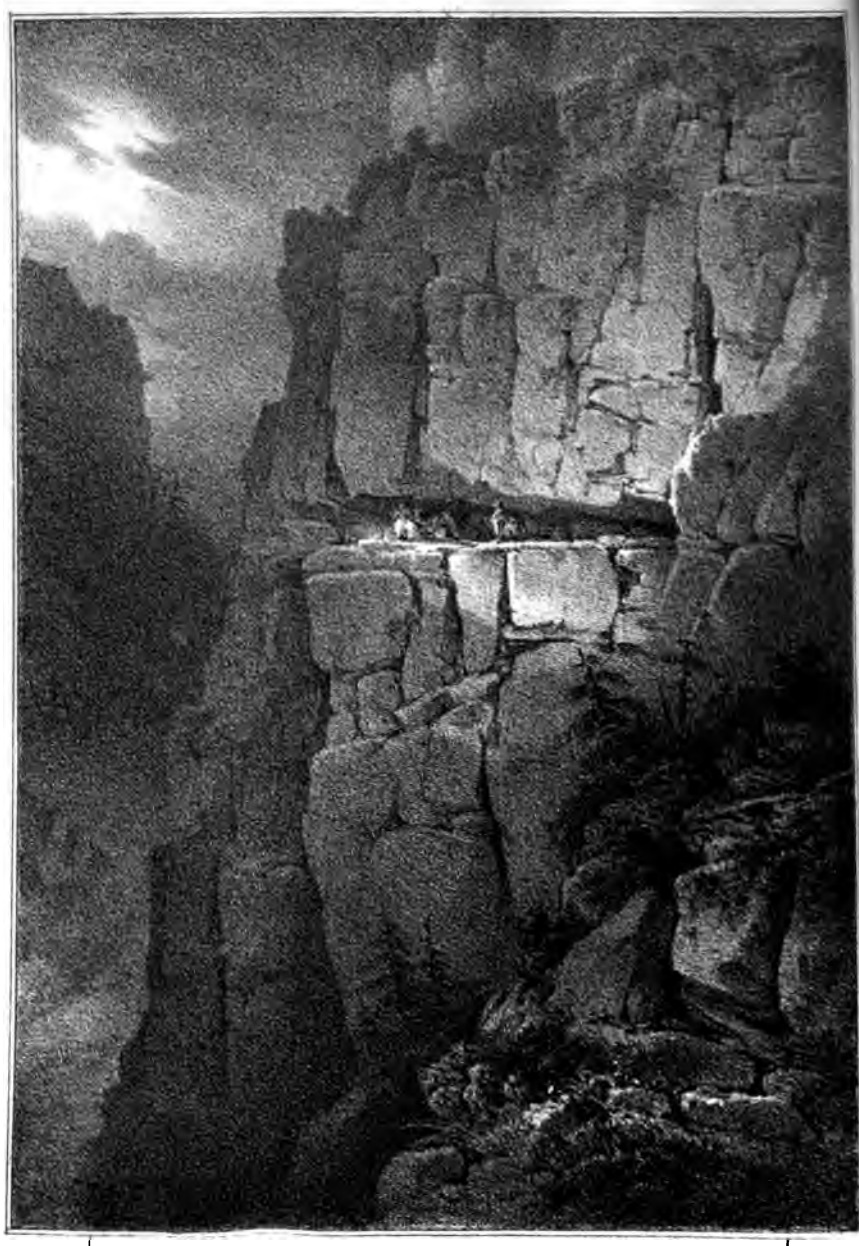
Presently the four mountaineers disappeared. How they sustained their footing, and to what projecting points they clung, I could not imagine. I looked down, but the cliff projected so much, that I could not distinguish the means of their descent. Presently we heard shouts from below, and a voice directed us to lower the rope ladder, which we had previously attached to a fragment of rock, large enough to sustain any weight. The ladder was let down, and made fast at the other end by the men below. My brother was the first of our party to descend by it. I went next. Our precautions were so well taken, that I found the descent more difficult than dangerous: but I confess, that when I found myself suspended between heaven and earth, by a swinging staircase of rope, which the sharp points of the rock might cut in twain, the sensation was any thing but enviable. The ladder did not hang straight, but followed the irregular lines of the face of the cliff, which had given hand and foot-hold to the peasants who led the way. At the depth of about twenty feet I found the ladder resting upon a sort of shelf. From this shelf the ladder hung in an angular direction, and next lay along a rough sloping ridge like a camel's back; and then depended perpendicularly, rocking with great violence. At about fifty feet from the top, there was a second

shelf, and this attained, I perceived a sort or tunnel, or chimney, in the cliff; but the ladder was not long enough to reach to the bottom of it, and with the assistance of Ricca, who was planted there to help me, I let myself down, much after the fashion of a climbing boy descending a chimney. This achieved, the grotto was attained without much further difficulty.

The risk which the men encountered, who descended without the rope ladder, consisted in passing from ledge to ledge, where the hold was very slight and insecure. What, then, must have been the horrible nature of the persecution, which compelled women and children to trust themselves to the perils of such an enterprise! It is probable, however, that ropes had been before used to facilitate the descent, for I observed several places, which looked as if they had been indented by the friction of cordage.

My servant came down after me, then M. Bonjour, and after him M. Revel; and never did I see people more delighted than they seemed to be.

We found the cavern, so called, to be an irregular, rugged, sloping gallery, in the face of the rock, of which the jutting crags above formed the roof. At one end also there was a projection of cliff, which sheltered it on that side from the weather. The gallery is wide enough to be secure. In some parts the edge overhangs the depth below



CAVERN OR GALLERY OF CASTELLUZZO.

On Stone by P. Nicholson

Angelmann Lith.

From a Sketch by Mrs W. Gilly

perpendicularly: at others it shelves gently downwards, but in all directions it is quite inaccessible, except from above, and by the tunnel, down which we descended; and which will only admit one person at a time. Some shrubs and rock plants grow in the gallery, which in some degree shelter it from the south, to which, in other respects, it is entirely open. In the front, and to the right, as you stand with your back to the rock, it is exposed to no annoyance from assailants; but to the left, it is in some slight degree open to a fire of musquetry from neighbouring cliffs, which command it.

The term cavern does not exactly apply to it. It does not penetrate deep enough into the rock, and it is perfectly light in every part. The annexed sketch is an attempt to represent its appearance, and will help the reader to comprehend my description; but the point from whence it was taken, was not near enough for the purpose of an exact delineation.

We discovered evident marks of a fountain. The spot from which the water issued was still moist, and most probably there is a constant flow in less sultry months. But I could not satisfy myself that the gallery would afford an asylum for so many as 300 or 400 fugitives; nor did we find any relics of other days, though we searched diligently, and used the implements we brought with us in turning up and sounding the surface.

We saw no marks of smoke or fire, nor any thing like the ovens of which the historian speaks. Now then for the question. Is this the cavern mentioned by Leger[1]?

It answers to his description in many particulars.

1. In its situation on Mont Vandelin.

2. In being near the hamlets of Bonetti and Chabriol.

3. In its capability of sheltering a great number of people.

4. In containing a fountain.

5. In its productions,—shrubs and plants.

6. In its access by a tunnel or chimney.

7. In its admitting one only to enter at a time.

8. In its being defensible by one against many.

Chanforan said, that he once scrambled down the cliff from the gallery, but that it was a bravado of imminent danger, which nothing could induce him to hazard a second time, and that it was utterly impossible to ascend to it in the same direction.

The arguments against its being Leger's cavern, are these :—

1. There are no vestiges of its having been enlarged or improved by artificial means,—" Taillée par art."

2. It no longer answers to the description of being vaulted, and formed like an oven,—" Voutée en forme d'une four." The form, however, may

[1] Liv. i. p. 9.

have been changed, from the falling in, or decomposition, of the cliff.

3. There are no chinks or loop-holes, or any thing which serve for " fenestres ou sentinelles." On one side, that which I have described as being somewhat exposed to the fire of an enemy, there is the appearance of a recent fall, and here it is possible that there may have been the " fentes dans le rocher," of which Leger makes mention.

4. There are not, and cannot have been, any chambers,—" il y a quelque chambres."

5. There are no ovens, or resemblance of ovens, " un four pour cuire du pain." But there are large blocks of rock, which may have answered the purpose, before they fell from their places.

One of the peasants incautiously set fire to some of the dry leaves, which caused a great blaze, and left traces, which future explorers of the cavern may imagine to be proofs in favour of the tradition, which ennobles it.

The only discovery we made was that of a viper's skin.

After remaining about an hour in the gallery, and inscribing our names, or initials in the rock, we ascended by the same means by which we came down : and though we could not feel confident that this was the " Merveilleuse Caverne [1]," of which

[1] I transcribe Leger's description : " C'est aussi en cette même communauté, sur une pointe de la montagne de Vandelin, où se voit encore une merveilleuse trace de la retraite, que l'Auteur

we had come in search,—yet we were pleased with our performance, and felt proud of having accomplished a feat of some difficulty.

Bonjour and Revel were in high glee, and Chanforan declared that he would preserve the five-franc piece, which I gave him to the end of his life, as a memorial of the day's achievement. We reached San Margarita on our return at one o'clock—having been occupied eight hours in the adventure.

de la Nature y avoit préparée pour mettre ses enfans à couvert de toute la rage et la furie de leurs ennemis, dans les plus grandes extrémités, et comment ces pauvres fidèles s'en sont prevalus. C'est une grande caverne en un entre-deux de la montagne, ou plutôt du rocher de Vandelin, toute taillée dans le rocher, et par la nature, et par l'art, à peu prés ronde et voutée en forme d'un four, si spacieuse qu'elle peut contenir 300 ou 400 personnes : même il y a des fentes dans le rocher qui servent de fenestres et sentinelles tout ensemble : il y a quelques chambres, une grande fontaine, et mêmes quelques arbres, et un four pour cuire du pain, et de plus l'on y voit encore des pieces d'une maits à pétrir extrêmement vieilles, et des pieces d'armoire : il est absolument impossible d'y entrer que par un seul trou par le haut : on n'y peut devaler qu'une seule personne à fois, qui se coule par cette fente, par des petits degrés coupés dans ce rocher, de sorte qu'une seule personne y estant dedans seulement avec une pique ou hallebarde, se peut defendre contre une armée toute entière." Liv. i. p. 9.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Departure from the Valleys—Appointment of the Suffragan Pastors of Massel and Rodoret—Influence of the Polignac Administration felt in the Valleys—Vaudois tribute to their English benefactors during the French domination—General observations as to the Religious Spirit which prevails among the Vaudois—Establishment of the Vaudois College.

AUGUST 16—20. A few days before our departure, a large party of pastors met at La Torre. They came to take leave of us. It was upon this occasion that an address to the king, drawn up with legal nicety, was read and considered, praying his majesty to take the case of his Vaudois subjects into consideration, and to repeal those enactments which are injurious to their personal and religious rights. The petition was temperately worded, and after having been carefully discussed, and cautiously weeded of every expression, which was likely to offend, it was unanimously approved by all present. The intention was to submit it to the Officers of the Table, who were to assemble on the 19th at San Germano, and with their sanction to obtain the signatures of all the notables, and then to present it to the king of Sardinia.

On the 20th of August, we said farewell to our friends at San Margarita, and reluctantly turned our backs upon the delightful spot, where we had passed so many happy days. To M. and Madame Bert, to their three daughters, Madame Bonjour, Julia, and Nancy, and to their son Amadée, and to M. Bonjour, we owe a debt of gratitude, which can never be repaid. During the whole time of our abode with them, it seemed to be their principal anxiety to study our wishes and to anticipate them, and from every branch of the family we received attentions which will endear them to us, as long as we live. The separation was not without tears; and many a long look did we turn upon them, while they were yet in sight, watching the progress of the carriage as it conveyed us away. At Turin we experienced similar attentions from M. Bert's elder son, Eugene, who is married to an English lady of good family. I regret very much that her confinement at the time prevented my making her acquaintance. I lament also that I saw but little of M. Vertu and his son, the friends of my first visit: our stay at Turin was so short.

Just before we reached Pinerolo on our journey homewards, we met the Moderator, the Moderator adjoint, the Secretary, and the two lay members of the Table, Messrs. Brezzi and Poëtti, who had come from San Germano, to give us their parting salutations. This mark of kindness was most

gratifying. They sent me away with the pleasing intelligence, that at their meeting the day before, they had come to the resolution of nominating M. J. Revel to the cure of Massel, and M. J. J. Bonjour, brother of my friend, "the Pasteur-Chapelain," to that of Rodoret, as suffragan pastors. These two parishes, which, for more than two hundred years, have been served by the pastors of Maneglia and Prali, for want of sufficient funds to maintain ministers of their own, will now have each its separate pastor, and one more benefit is thus conferred by England upon the Waldensian Church. The stipend of each will be 1000 francs, derived from the royal grant, restored by the English government in 1827. I stated in the beginning of my narrative [1], that it was the intention of the thirteen Vaudois pastors to make personal sacrifices for the sake of the community at large; and that among other deductions from the sum of 277*l.* which is annually remitted from this country to be divided among them, they had determined to allot 2000 francs towards the appointment of two additional cures, Massel and Rodoret. This is now carried into effect; and the Moderator and his colleagues were desirous that I should have in my possession a copy of the instrument, by which these appointments were formally made by the Table. May God bless the ministry

[1] See p. 163, 164.

sentatives of the king of Prussia, more perhaps from a want of right information as to their condition, than from any unfriendly spirit.

With a delicacy, however, peculiar to themselves, the Vaudois pastors and others refrained from reproaching England with neglect, although I perceived that they no longer looked with confidence to any British interposition in their behalf. They are thankful for the benefactions they have received, and do not suffer political unkindness to extinguish feelings of gratitude for private favours.

Two extraordinary proofs have been given of the affection, with which these excellent people have continued to regard England, even under circumstances when a different spirit might have been expected; or, to say the least, when it was almost heroic on their part to manifest feelings of attachment to us.

When the Vaudois clergy petitioned Napoleon[1] to organize them, and to grant them the same

[1] Napoleon never lost sight of the Church of the Valleys after he had once learnt to take an interest in its fate. I have the copy of an order signed by him at Moscow, in 1812, by which he directed a negligent Vaudois Pastor to be suspended. Strange! that the invader of Russia, in the palace of the Czars, should be concerning himself with the affairs of a small parish in the remote wilds of Piemont, and that the Protestant representatives of "the Defender of the Faith," should forget the Waldenses at the congress of Vienna! The usurpers Cromwell and Buonaparte have left a better lesson behind them in regard to the Vaudois, than the advocates of legitimacy.

ness flowed. Let us cherish a grateful recollection of our ancient benefactors. Strangers to political feelings, piety demands of us an honourable mention of the nation, which has so often befriended us: and who will blame us for it?"

Alas, this good man little thought, that within nine years, the Vaudois would again be reduced to their former degradation, and that England, forgetful of the humble Church in the wilderness, would raise no voice in her behalf, though a word would suffice.

Should the tendency of my observations in the foregoing pages, seem to lean too much to the side of eulogy, I beg that it may be remembered, that my professed object has been to describe the general character of the Vaudois, and to commend their cause to the Protestant world. For this reason, I have abstained from pointing out the errors of individuals, wherein the opinions of a few, and not of the many, are involved; and though many incidents of an unpleasant nature, and traits of evil, did not escape me during a residence of two months, yet I felt that it was not my business to give them a place in my note book [1].

[1] If I had entered at large into some "untoward" differences, which have agitated the minds of several persons in one of the parishes of Val Luserna, and which have formed the subject for paragraphs in English newspapers and magazines, I could not have satisfied either myself or my readers, or the parties con-

dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men?" Yes! In proof of the truth of this assertion, I refer to my Introductory Inquiry into the Antiquity and Purity of the Waldensian Church[1]. The Liturgy, which has been lately composed by a commission of pastors, in which the Moderator-adjoint has taken an active part, and which will be printed and published as soon as it has been submitted to the synod, will sufficiently prove to the world, that the modern Waldenses adhere to the tenets and confessions of faith of their ancestors—and that the orthodoxy of a Church is to be tried by its professed articles of faith, and public acts, and not by the acts or opinions of individuals.

Other queries have been proposed, which I do not undertake to notice, because different persons would put their own construction both upon the question and answer. Remembering, however, the words of the Author and Finisher of our faith, "By their fruits ye shall know them"—and calling to mind the definition of one of his apostles, "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance," I may affirm that in the Christian world, there is not a community, where these indications of Gospel purity are more manifest.

[1] See Section iv p. 132, &c.

For the satisfaction, however, of those, who wish for a statement of facts, and not of vague opinions, I can state that to my own knowledge, in many Vaudois houses and cottages, the Bible is read as devoutly, and conversation takes as serious a turn, and family prayers are conducted as regularly, as the most pious mind could wish: and that there is an increasing invitation to exercises of devotion, which if some few regard as "righteousness overmuch," many more estimate and approve. In every religious society there will be some to promote, and some to dissuade from manifestations of piety, which offend the world because they are so. No wonder then, that this should be the case even in the valleys of Piemont; and that the term "momier," should occasionally disturb the harmony of those regions, where we might have hoped that all would have been of one mind.

I am not blind to the defects which exist among the Vaudois,—and it was for this reason, that when I was entrusted with the disposal of a private fund for their benefit, I thought it right to apply it in such a manner, as should strengthen the weak hands,—and be of service in a religious point of view. A college, or superior school, where young men intended for holy orders may be grounded in the true principles of the Waldensian Church, and where all, who are likely to fill influential stations in the valleys, may receive the love of the truth: —a revived system of ecclesiastical discipline, con-

sistent with ancient practice,—and an uniform liturgy, may, with the blessing of God, have the effect of providing a remedy against errors, which might otherwise creep in.

I am happy in being able to report, that the proposals which I made to the Pastors, and Notables, and to the Table, and which were accepted, before I took my departure from the valleys, are likely to be carried into effect, so as to meet my views in every respect. Had it been otherwise, I should have been under the necessity of withdrawing the offers which were made:—and even now, should it ever happen, which God forbid, that the inhabitants of the Valleys should cease, from choice or compulsion, to be "a congregation of faithful men," in the sense presumed by the Confessions of Faith, promulgated by the ancient Waldensian Church, the funds destined to the Vaudois college, will be applied to uphold the true Protestant cause in some other part of the world.

Since my return to England, many letters have passed between the Moderator and myself, in regard to the final arrangements relating to the college. There was a natural anxiety expressed on the part of several of the communes to have the establishment fixed within their own boundaries, and a noble rivalry has been displayed in consequence. Among others, the parishes of Pramol and San Germano offered to find some of

the materials for the building, and to be at the expense of the labour and carriage of materials, provided the college should be erected in San Germano, upon a piece of ground tendered gratuitously by a proprietor of that village. Five proprietors of San Giovanni offered to give sites: and a large subscription towards the cost of the building was volunteered by the inhabitants of San Giovanni, on condition that the institution should be placed on their territory.

These generous offers were embarrassing; but at length the Officers of the Table, and the Pasteur-Chapelain, invited a commission, consisting of pastors and notables from each valley, to confer with them, and to decide upon the site of the proposed establishment. They came to the resolution that the territory of La Torre, the place which I had originally chosen, was the fittest spot, (particularly now that a Latin school is established at Pomaretto for the valleys of Perosa and San Martino, and endowed principally by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and partly out of the fund at my disposal), and recommended that a house in La Torre, called the "Maison des Vallées," should be purchased by the assistance of public contributions in the valleys, for the reception of the professors and students.

Until the completion of the purchase and transfer of this building, it was proposed by the com-

mission to accept an offer of the proprietor, and to apply an adjoining house of his to the use of the institution. A letter, which I received the beginning of this year (1831), requested that I would signify my assent to these resolutions; I have done so, with the intimation that the stipends of the Principal, and of the ten exhibitioners, might be considered to commence from the first of January, in the present year, by half yearly payments in advance. Remittances have been made to the Moderator to carry this into immediate effect, and I trust that before this sheet issues from the press, the first lectures will have been given.

But it is yet doubtful whether the institution will continue to be fixed at La Torre, for the patriotic inhabitants of San Giovanni have since made a new proposal. They have offered to erect a building entirely at their own expense, (in the centre of an acre, or an acre and a half of ground,) which shall contain as many rooms as the "Maison des Vallées," if we will acquiesce in their petition to have the college placed within their parish. This proposal, reduced to a written form, they have handed about the valleys, and have fortified it with the signatures, in approbation, of more than two-thirds of the principal members of the Waldensian community. I have just received this interesting document, and if it perplexes me to know how to reconcile conflicting opinions and

wishes on the subject, it is exceedingly gratifying to find that the project is so highly valued as to become an apple of generous discord. If the Table and the Commission should be inclined to sanction the views of the inhabitants of San Giovanni, it will not be easy to refuse my suffrage; but there are many prudential reasons to be assigned against it. Among others, the jealousy with which the government has always regarded every thing new in this commune,—witness the order to close the new church in 1814, and the unwilling permission which was afterwards granted for its re-opening. The Consistory and civil authorities of the parish have produced "Patentes Royales," which, it is said, authorise them to have establishments for public instruction. But these are only concessions, and matters of grace and especial favour, which if one absolute sovereign may grant, another may withhold; and not being acknowledgments and confirmations of privileges, claimed as rights by the people of San Giovanni, in common with the rest of the Vaudois communes, it seems hazardous to risk the prosperity of the infant institution by placing it on disputed ground.

For the present, it will have a location in the house, which has been offered provisionally at La Torre, and, under the name of "L'Ecole Supérieure," (in its present humble character it cannot aspire to that of a college,) will be governed by the following regulations:—

1. The institution is established for the benefit of Protestant youth, who have made some progress in the Grammar-school of La Torre or Pomaretto, or elsewhere.

2. So long as circumstances will not admit of the appointment of more than one professor, the Principal will be required to undertake to give instruction in French, Latin, Italian, and Greek, —History,—and Religion, according to the confessions of Faith of the Waldensian Church.

3. The Commission, or its Delegates, are charged with the examination of young persons desirous of admission to " L'Ecole Supérieure," that it may be ascertained whether they are capable of pursuing studies, requisite to qualify them for the various professions.

4. The students admitted into the institution must be capable of attending the first course of lectures, which will resemble those of the first class of the college of Lausanne.

5. For ten students, to be elected out of the ten Vaudois parishes most remote from La Torre, there will be exhibitions of 100 francs each per annum. If either of the parishes, which are entitled to an exhibition, should not produce a claimant qualified to receive it, the unappropriated exhibition will be offered in succession to the parishes less distant from La Torre, according to a cycle pre-determined.

6. The exhibitions will be granted, after exa-

mination, to the most deserving of the candidates from the several parishes, which are to enjoy the right of nominating claimants.

7. If candidates for the same exhibition should prove equal in merit, it will be awarded to the most necessitous.

8. All the students, and exhibitioners, who attend the lectures of the institution, whether they reside with the professors or not, will be required to submit to the rules which shall be adopted for its regulation.

9. The students must attend public service in church every Sunday. Besides which they must be present at a particular service within the institution, which will be composed and appointed by the Commission.

10. Every student must daily attend at the hour of prayer, and must be present in class, at a Scripture lecture, which will be given every day, either in the original language of the Old or New Testament, or in the French or Italian tongue, or in copies of the "Lengua Valdésa."

May the venerable pastor, M. Bert, under whose roof, and by whose assistance, this institution was planned, and may the members of the Commission, who have carried it so far into effect, be permitted to live to see it assume the character and designation, which our hopes anticipate!

CHAPTER XIX.

The Treaties by which Personal and Religious Rights ought to have been secured to the Vaudois.

AFTER my return to England from my second visit to the valleys of Piemont, I thought it right to make another effort in behalf of the Waldensian Church, and to address a memorial to his Majesty's ministers, explanatory of the present condition of the Vaudois, and the infraction of solemn treaties, by which the king of Sardinia is pledged to the British government to preserve the rights of the Vaudois inviolate.

We have heard a great deal lately of the obligation of certain ancient engagements between the crown of England and other states[1], and having it in my power to shew that compacts[2],

[1] "Impressed at all times with the necessity of respecting the faith of national engagements."—*King's Speech*, 1830.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. Hawkins, of the British Museum, for putting me in possession of papers, which first directed my attention to these treaties. But for this, I believe the existence of such treaties would have been forgotten.

" I have lately spent a considerable time among them, visit-
" ing every village and hamlet, and have thus had opportunities
" of gathering information, which could only be obtained by
" being upon the spot, and by observing how the system of
" oppression works, and in what manner it threatens to com-
" plete the destruction of a Church, which is the origin of every
" Reformed Church in Europe.

" The accompanying Memorial will explain to your lordship
" the present afflicting condition of these Protestant subjects of
" the king of Sardinia, who, known under the name of Vaudois
" or Waldenses, inhabit three Piemontese valleys on the Italian
" side of the Alps. Although they have constantly suffered
" under intolerable grievances, they have just claims to especial
" immunities and privileges; first, upon the faith of concessions
" granted to their ancestors[1] as original possessors of the soil,
" and professing the religion which is now maintained there,
" long before the house of Savoy obtained the sovereignty of
" Piemont; and, secondly, upon the strength of treaties and
" engagements made with foreign powers in their behalf. It
" was to preserve this most ancient stock from ruin (which has
" very truly been considered the connecting link between the
" Primitive and Reformed Churches), that the Vaudois have
" been invited, at different periods of history, to appeal to the
" Protestant states of Europe, when they have had any com-
" plaints to make, and that every Protestant state[2] has inter-
" posed to protect them in some shape or other. ' It is hard,'
" says an historian upon this subject, ' to furnish a like example

[1] See p. 73.

[2] The Prince Elector Palatine interposed in 1566: and

The Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, the Protector of England, the States General of the United Provinces, the King of France, the King of Sweden, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the King of Denmark, in 1655: and

King William III., and the States General of the United Provinces, in 1690.

The interpositions in 1655, and in 1690, saved the Vaudois from extermination.

" ever to maintain the ancient liberties of the Vaudois. The " clause ran thus :

" ' And if it should happen at any time, that his majesty [1] " or his successors should be constrained to surrender them to " the jurisdiction of any other, they shall be transferred with " the same conditions, privileges, and qualifications, that shall " be granted to them by the present treaty, together with their " ancient privileges and immunities, which by such transfer " shall neither be changed, renewed, nor altered in any way " whatever.'

" The fruit of this mediation, on the part of the English govern- " ment in 1655, was a solemn compact signed by the duke of " Savoy in favour of his Vaudois subjects, and guaranteed by " the ambassador of the king of France, and the ambassadors " of the Reformed Cantons of Switzerland. But the compact " was soon violated, and in answer to a letter from the Swiss " Cantons to Charles II. about the year 1666, requesting his " majesty's interference, the king promised, ' We will from our " heart do all we can towards the preservation and safety of those, " who are so closely united to us by the sacred ties of a common " faith.' There is every reason to believe that the promised in- " tercession of Charles II. was but feeble; for at this crisis there " commenced a system of more effectual persecution, which con- " tinued to deprive the Vaudois of their lands and property, " to confine them within more narrow limits, and greatly to re- " duce their numbers. This oppression became more and more " severe, until the non-interference of the English government " under James II., and the revocation of the edict of Nantes in " France, gave the duke of Savoy an opportunity of making a " new attempt to exterminate the Vaudois. The greater part of " their population was massacred; and of the remainder, some " were obliged to conform to Romanism, and the rest were driven " from their habitations. This took place in 1686.

[1] Henry IV. of France.

" Within a few years afterwards, the courage and conduct of " the Vaudois refugees, who were aided by William III., enabled " them to repossess themselves of some part of their ancient set- " tlements, and in 1690, the Waldenses were once more indebted " to the English government, and recovered their political exist- " ence.

" Your lordship will take some interest in reading the account, " which an historian of that day gives of the decisive conduct " of the English envoy, who managed the affair. ' The duke of " Savoy granted a very full edict in favour of the Vaudois, " restoring their former liberties and privileges to them, which " the lord Galway took care to have put in the most emphatical " words, and passed with all the formalities of law, to make it as " effectual as laws and promises can be: yet every step, that " was made in that affair, went against the grain, and was ex- " torted from him by the intercession of the king, and the States, " and by the lord Galway's zeal[1].'

" The same zealous attention to the grievances of the Vau- " dois was again shewn in the secret treaty of Turin, in 1704, " between queen Anne and the duke of Savoy; and it also ap- " peared in the face of the correspondence between those powers " in 1709. In the course of that correspondence, and in a con- " versation with the ambassador Chetwynd, the duke admitted " that he was bound both by treaties and promises to give satis- " faction to England on this subject.

" Unfortunately for the Waldenses, the administrations, which " immediately succeeded, did not watch the execution of these " treaties and engagements with sufficient vigilance, or they did " not press the question with vigour. It is certain that one " populous valley was wrested from the Protestants, and the " inhabitants were compelled to abjure their faith, during the " period of this inertness; but in the midst of the evil, the argu- " ment which I am humbly using with your lordship, (namely,

[1] Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. ii. p. 176. Fol. edit. of 1734.

" that there are ample grounds and precedents for interposition " by virtue of treaties,) derives strength from the language and " conduct of the British minister, Mr. Hedges, at the court of " Turin. He strongly protested against the infraction of treaties, " and he wrote repeated letters to his own government, implor- " ing them to be more in earnest, to instruct him to insist " upon the observance of engagements with the Vaudois, and " pledging himself that it only required to be in earnest to carry " the point.

" The following extracts[1] from the despatches of Mr. Hedges " in 1727, are so much to the purpose, and so applicable to the " present state of things, that I trust your lordship will pardon " my troubling you with them.

" ' I believe, if the Marquis D'Aix, (Sardinian envoy in Lon- " don,) perceived an earnestness in England of having this affair " remedied, it would very much facilitate it.' June 21, 1727.

" ' I cannot but be of opinion, that one great reason of the " coldness I meet with here on those subjects, arises chiefly from " the little warmth with which it is urged to the Marquis D'Aix, " at London, and as they are points by no ways agreeable to " the king of Sardinia, I do not doubt but he informs his master " that we have them not so much at heart, as to oblige him to " make many alterations in either case. For the treaties are so " express with regard to the Protestants, that they cannot possi- " bly have any thing to say in defence of their present behaviour " to them.' August 23, 1727.

" ' The Marquis de St. Thomas owned to me the hardships " that the inhabitants of those valleys laboured under; but " pleaded in excuse, that they were obliged not to suffer the " exercise of the Protestant religion in them by the treaty made " with France for the cession of those valleys in exchange for " the valley of Barcellonette; but, as I had carefully looked over " that treaty, and could find in it no one word relating to the

[1] See the Papers of Mr. Hedges, in the State Paper Office.

" not suffering the Protestant religion, but, on the contrary, it " it appeared to me, as your Grace will see by a copy of the " article enclosed, that the inhabitants should be maintained " inviolably in all their privileges and immunities. I told him " I could not possibly imagine it was capable of receiving any " such construction. I then told him that I could not but be " extremely surprised at the little attention that was shewn to " His Majesty's intercession, FOUNDED ON SOLEMN TREATIES, " which could not possibly be misunderstood.' August 30, " 1727.

" ' I can assure you that talking firmly to them, and that by " persons of authority, and who they think are able to make good " their words, is the only way of obtaining the most just and " reasonable demands at this court; and nothing but great " steadiness on our side, and insisting strongly on our treaties, " and the king of Sardinia's promises, can preserve the Pro- " testants of the valleys from sure and certain destruction. The " inveteracy against our religion is incredible, and if it be not " supported with some warmth, since it is attacked with so " much, it must give way to superior power.' November 5, " 1727.

" It is important to explain to your lordship, that during " the progress of these negociations, the king of Sardinia rested " the defence of his proceedings against the Protestants of the " valley of Pragela, upon the plea, that the inhabitants of that " valley, were not *the Waldenses* whose privileges he was bound " by treaty to respect. ' As to the Vaudois,' (or Waldenses of " the valleys of Lucerne, Perouse, and St. Martin,) the king and " his ministers declared that, ' it was a different case with them, " that whatever just grievances they had should be relieved,' " ' that there was no objection against the free profession and " exercise of their religion.' Letters June 7, and August 30, " 1727.

" My lord, it is to these Waldenses[1], to the few who now

[1] Of Piemont.

" remain in those regions, where the Waldensian Church once " consisted of 800,000 [1], that I entreat your attention. Up to " this moment English aid and mediation have been instrumental " in protecting them from the several aggressions, which have " threatened their overthrow, and unless they can still look to this " quarter for succour, there is every reason to dread, from the " present aspect of hostility, with which they are regarded, that " their name will be effaced from the history of the nineteenth " century.

" Your lordship may yet be the means of redressing the " injury done to the Vaudois in 1814, when they were placed " under their old yoke, without any suitable effort to lighten its " heavy burthen. They were then overlooked; their claims " and their condition escaped the notice of the British govern- " ment, at a time when there was the greatest readiness to do " justice to such a cause. I shall be pardoned for throwing out " this observation, by the production of the following answer, " which the Earl of Liverpool gave, when an appeal was made " to his lordship in behalf of other Protestant sufferers, in " 1815 [2].

" ' The invariable object of the British government, and that " of its allies, has always been to preserve, and upon every " convenient occasion to maintain, the principles of toleration " in matters of religion, with full liberty of conscience, and in " its last correspondence with the court of France, it has put " forward these principles as the foundation of its policy.'

" Throughout the whole of this letter, I have been more anx- " ious to set authorities before your lordship, and to guard my " view of the subject by the sanction of opinions, that are " likely to have weight with your lordship, than to obtrude my " own reasoning. Therefore, in conclusion, I beg leave to " transcribe from the reports of the proceedings of the House of

[1] In the Alpine provinces of France and Italy.

[2] After the troubles at Nismes.

" Lords, in April last[1], the very striking language of the present " Archbishop of Canterbury, when his Grace was supposing " that the time might come, when the exertions of the Secretary " of State for Foreign Affairs would be necessary to the protec- " tion of Protestant interests abroad. ' The Archbishop of Can- " terbury said, that no adviser or minister of the crown, who " could not enter into the views of the king for the mainte- " nance of the true profession of the Gospel, and of the Pro- " testant reformed religion, could assist the king to fulfil the " obligations imposed upon him.'—' Let him call the attention " of their lordships to the Secretary of State for Foreign " Affairs. He apprehended one of the great causes of the im- " portance of this country on the continent to be its support of " Protestant states in every part of Europe, and not only of " Protestant states, but (which was of equal importance, both " as maintaining the true profession of the Gospel, and as indi- " cative of the power of England) of those little bodies of Pro- " testants which were found in large states, and of which, the " members, surrounded by the zealous disciples of the Church " of Rome, naturally looked to this country for protection, and " in time of danger sought refuge in the influence, the inter- " cession, or the power of the Secretary of State for Foreign " Affairs. He would not mention names, but he must be al- " lowed to say, that a former[2] Secretary of State for Foreign " Affairs, with whom he had had the honour of being acquainted, " and with whom he had had frequent communications, had " told him, that his intercession as Foreign Secretary had often " been successful in behalf of oppressed bodies of Protestants " on the continent. He would not push this matter further, " but would content himself with observing, that in many foreign " states there were large congregations of Protestants, with " clergy attached to them, who required our care and protec- " tion.'

[1] During the debates in April, 1829, on the Catholic question.

[2] Mr. Canning.

" The Memorial, to which I now most respectfully solicit your " lordship's attention, will shew how greatly the Vaudois and " their clergy stand in need of your intercession.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your lordship's most faithful and obedient
humble servant,

WILLIAM STEPHEN GILLY."

COLLEGE, DURHAM,
26th Nov. 1829.

" *To the Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

" The Memorial of the Rev. W. S. Gilly, Prebendary of Durham, " in behalf of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, Protestant subjects " of his Majesty the King of Sardinia :—

" SHEWETH,

" That the Vaudois, composing an organized Church, and being " the most ancient of all Protestant communities, are at this " time suffering oppression, such as no other body of Protestants, " and no other body of separatists from an established Church, " under any government in the civilized world, are exposed to.

" That such oppression grows out of ancient edicts, or of " present acts of authority, which prevent the free exercise of " their religion[1],—prohibit the acquirement of property beyond

[1] So late as November last, 1830, a Vaudois pastor was questioned by a provincial authority as to the new system of instruction which it is proposed to adopt in the valleys, and was told that *theological lectures* would not be permitted.

" defined and narrow limits,—compel to observances contrary " to the dictates of conscience—forbid the exercise of certain " professions,—separate children from their parents, under arbi- " trary pretences, and are in violation of solemn engagements " between their sovereigns and themselves [1], and of treaties, by " which the dukes of Savoy, and the kings of Sardinia, have " pledged themselves to England, and to other states, to respect " the liberties and privileges of the Vaudois. That, these griev- " ances admit of the following exposition, and are of a nature to " call for the mediation of his majesty's government in behalf " of the Vaudois [2].

" The Vaudois have had no other charge alleged against them " in justification of the enactments enforced to their prejudice [3], " but their adherence to the Protestant religion, whose professors " having nothing in the tenets of their creed to shake their

[1] See p. 73.

[2] Even in times when the rights of subjects were much less understood than they are now, the Vaudois prayed for relief as an act of justice and not of grace. " We cannot be justly deprived of that which nature, the law of nations, and the possession of many ages, give to us."—" Touching these rights, we have neither received them from the dukes of Savoy, nor from any other prince in the world, but we have them from God, and we have enjoyed them as our birth-right from father to son, before ever the dukes of Savoy possessed Piemont: and the truth is, we cannot find that any one of them did ever make a grant for the first introduction thereof, or that the tenor of the most ancient sanctions were any other, than to leave to our forefathers the enjoyment of the exercise of that religion which they had received of their ancestors."—Petition of March 1656.

[3] " How, in God's name, could it happen, that without any fault or crime on their part, they should lose their rights, and be reduced to their ancient state of servitude? How could a mere change of sovereignty, the duty of which high office is to protect all existing private rights, have produced so monstrous a metamorphosis? By what fatality has the restoration of the King of Sardinia been followed by so dreadful a consequence as the degradation of his Protestant subjects, while no similar effect was produced by the restoration of the Bourbons to France, nor by that of the other sovereigns to countries also formerly united to France, but afterwards again dismembered?"—Count del Pozzo's Pamphlet, p. 23.

" obedience to their natural sovereigns, cannot be suspected of " a divided or doubtful allegiance. In the actual state of things, " when a more equitable and mild system of government pre- " vails in almost every state in Europe, and especially in coun- " tries contiguous to that of the Vaudois, and under sovereigns " in the closest alliance with the king of Sardinia, they must " naturally compare their own grievances and degradations with " the happier condition of other subjects, and feel them aggra- " vated by the comparison. More especially when they reflect, " that England, to which they have hitherto been accustomed " to look for protection, has set a benevolent example, and by " yielding to the petitions of her Roman Catholic subjects, has " added to her powers of remonstrance, and given herself a new " right to interpose in favour of Protestants, who are complaining " not of political, but of civil and personal deprivations.

" The Vaudois are, at this period of general amelioration, " suffering under the revival of arbitrary edicts[1], which do not " in any degree accord with the principles of legislation, which " even the most powerful monarchs in Europe, and such as are " independent of any charters and compacts with their people, " have adopted as the basis of their government. In the 19th " century, the Vaudois are replaced under a system which had " its commencement in the dark ages; and this, after having " been put in full possession of religious and personal rights in " common with the rest of their countrymen, and after enjoying " such rights for several years. They are thus the only people, " who instead of benefiting by the restoration of the house of " Savoy, and by other political changes effected during late " events, have suffered in their persons, property, and conscience.

" It will appear from what your memorialist has to state, that " the case of the Vaudois is not one wherein the actual admi-

[1] When the king of Sardinia was restored to his throne in 1814, principally by the influence of England, he issued an edict, by which he revived all the barbarous and perfidious enactments which had been put in force by his predecessors, from the year 1476.—See page 369.

" nistration of the law, softens the rigorous letter of the law, by
" its lenity, forbearance, and indulgence; but, on the contrary,
" it is a case, wherein the practical enforcement of severe edicts
" extends even beyond the wording and meaning of them. It
" is at this juncture, and under the existing order of things, such
" as to realize the threat, 'and now, whereas my father did lade
" you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke [1].'

" Time which has softened other evils, has rendered the hard
" fate of the Vaudois still harder, and many of the edicts, which
" are referred to in the subjoined statement, have been enforced
" in a manner which the original promulgators never intended."

I. The Vaudois are confined by edict, to certain limits: they may not inherit, purchase, acquire, or possess property beyond arbitrary lines of demarcation.

This edict operates to their injury by restricting them to a district which is insufficient for their subsistence. Their population is too great, in proportion to the production of their valleys; and while they themselves are prohibited from acquiring property elsewhere, Roman Catholics are encouraged by the government to settle within their limits, and so to decrease their resources.

It affects the tenure of property acquired before the late restoration of the house of Savoy, while the Vaudois enjoyed privileges in common with the rest of their countrymen.

The edict is not permitted to sleep, but it is put in action at the suggestion of individuals, who frequently provoke the government to acts of oppression against the Vaudois. Thus, in November 1827, an order was issued at Pignerol [2], reviving a former order, and commanding four Vaudois, who had established themselves there, " *disgombrare*," to begone, to remove with all their goods, and threatening all with the confiscation of

[1] " That species of novel and puny persecution which inflicts molestation, but not martyrdom."—*Mackintosh.*

[2] A town within a few miles of their limits.

property who should permit Vaudois to take up their abode with them. This order was afterwards *suspended*, not revoked, upon the exercise of especial interest, but the dread of it still hangs over the parties [1].

The edict is of itself contrary to express stipulations, and an aggravation of the law upon which it is pretended to be founded. That law prescribed the limits for preaching, and building churches, and holding religious assemblies; but did not prescribe the limits of habitation, or of the acquirement of property. On the contrary, it expressly stated, that those who had property beyond the prescribed limits appointed for preaching, &c. might return to their dwellings. By the 8th, 9th, 11th, and 20th, articles of the enactment in question, the limits of habitation were extended to all the towns and places appertaining to, and adjacent to the three valleys.

In violation of these articles, the edict, against which the Vaudois have to complain, was first put in force, and it has been revived in violation of a more recent and memorable treaty [2], which declared that in the countries affected by that treaty, no individual should be disturbed in his person or property, under any pretext [3].

[1] The Vaudois who live at Turin, are there by sufferance only.

[2] This subject has been ably discussed by the Count Del Pozzo, in a pamphlet under the title of "The Complete Emancipation of the Vaudois."

[3] *Treaty of Paris, 30th May*, 1814.

The preamble spoke of the "equal desire to terminate the long agitations of Europe, *and the sufferings of mankind.*"

"Art. 16. The high contracting parties, desirous to bury in entire oblivion the dissensions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise, that no individual, of whatever rank or condition he may be, in the countries restored and ceded by the present treaty, shall be persecuted, disturbed, or *molested in his person or property under any pretext whatsoever*, either on account of his conduct or political opinions, his attachment either to any of the contracting parties, or to any government, which has ceased to exist, or for any other reason, except for debts contracted towards individuals, or acts posterior to the date of the present treaty."

"Art. 27. National domains acquired for valuable considerations by French

II. Vaudois are not permitted to practise as physicians [1], surgeons, or advocates.

This prohibition bears hard upon many, who previously to the restoration in 1814, had qualified themselves for these professions, and had exercised them successfully.

III. In the formation of the municipal councils of the Vaudois communes, sufficient regard is not paid to the relative population or to qualification, but the majority is always made

subjects in the late departments of Belgium, and of the left bank of the Rhine, and the Alps, beyond the ancient limits of France, and which now cease to belong to her, shall be guaranteed to the purchasers.

" LE PRINCE DE BENEVENTE.

(Signed) " CASTLEREAGH,
ABERDEEN,
CATHCART,
CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-Gen."

Treaty of Peace, 20th Nov. 1815.

" Art. 8. All the dispositions of the treaty of Paris, of the 30th May, 1814, relative to the countries ceded by that treaty, shall equally apply to the several territories and districts ceded by the present treaty.

" CASTLEREAGH,
WELLINGTON,
RICHELIEU."

General Treaty, signed in Congress at Vienna, June 9, 1815.

" Art. 103. The inhabitants of the countries who return under the government of the Holy See, in consequence of the stipulations of Congress, shall enjoy the benefit of the 16th article of the treaty of Paris of 30th May, 1814.

" All acquisitions made by individuals in virtue of a title acknowledged as legal by the existing laws, are to be considered as good."

Upon the same principle, the Vaudois, who returned under the government of the king of Sardinia, should enjoy the benefit of the same article.

[1] A petition was presented to the king of Sardinia in 1816, praying him to repeal this edict. The answer informed the Vaudois, that they were at liberty to exercise the professions of apothecary, architect, surveyor, or any other, which did not require the laurea, or degree at the university ; that is to say, they are still excluded from all the higher professions.

to consist of Roman Catholics, in the proportion of three-fifths, or of two-thirds.

The injurious effect of this state of things is felt in the unequal administration of justice, and in the admission of Roman Catholics of the lowest description into the municipal bodies of some of the Vaudois communes, where the population being almost entirely Protestant, none of the other religion are found to take office but the illiterate and unfit.

This is contrary to the second article of the treaty of 1602, which regulated the elections of "syndics, councillors," &c. &c.

IV. The Vaudois are compelled, "chômer les fêtes particuliers," to abstain from work under penalty of fine and imprisonment, not only on days of great festivals, kept by the Roman Catholic Church at large, but on other holidays, at the arbitrary will of the curés of the several parishes. They are interrupted in their own religious services, and are forced to join in some of the observances of the Roman Catholics, at the pleasure of the curés.

Each of these exactions is an infraction of general and particular stipulations, according to which, the free exercise of their religion, the right of conscience, and exemption from assisting at, or contributing to, Roman Catholic services, were invariably and expressly granted to the Vaudois. The grievance consists for the most part in the indefinite and ill-understood nature of the exactions: if they were regulated by law, they might be borne more easily, but the local petty authorities, and the curés, are allowed to decide *pro arbitrio* upon these matters. For example,—1. Very recently a young man was imprisoned three months for putting on his hat after the host had passed him in procession, in one of the Vaudois villages, and sooner than the officiating priests thought he ought to have replaced it. 2. The curé of a parish interrupted the service of a Vaudois church, upon pretence that the congregation was singing so loud as to

disturb the devotions of his own flock. He afterwards obtained an order, that the time of Protestant service should be changed, and fixed at an inconvenient hour.

V. Every temptation is held out to induce the Vaudois to abandon their religion, and the penalty of death is enacted against such as would dissuade a Vaudois from turning Roman Catholic.

It is a just matter of complaint, that criminals who abjure their faith should receive pardon, and that others who sign their abjuration should be declared to be exempt for five years from taxes and imposts, and from all charges real and personal, by an unrepealed edict, bearing date Jan. 26, 1642; but can any thing be more inconsistent with the spirit of toleration, than that a Vaudois minister, who, in the exercise of his functions, endeavours to confirm the faith of a Protestant, wavering towards Romanism, should be still subject to such an enactment as this?—"His royal highness inhibits those of the pretended reformed religion from diverting or dissuading any, whosoever he be, of the said religion, who would turn Catholic, under the same penalty of death, giving it in charge particularly to the ministers of the said pretended religion inviolably to observe the above-said, upon pain of answering the same in their own persons."—Order of Guastaldo, Jan. 27, 1655.

VI. The Vaudois are forbidden to print any books within any of the king's dominions.

The Sardinian government permits the Vaudois, under certain censorship and regulations, to import books that are required for their religious instruction and services, but forbids the use of a press under any regulations. The consequence is, that the expense arising from conveyance, freight, and duties, in addition to the prime cost of foreign books, is so heavy, that it amounts

to a prohibition [1]. There are besides so many difficulties in passing books through the provincial and district custom-houses, after they have been cleared at the frontier, and at Turin, that until this grievance is mitigated, the Vaudois cannot be said to enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

VII. The Vaudois are forbidden to introduce any system of mutual instruction in their schools.

VIII. Mixed marriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics, are prohibited—and when they occur, the parties are punished, the union dissolved, and the progeny declared to be illegitimate.

A marriage of this kind, between a Vaudois and a Roman Catholic was lately celebrated in France. When the couple afterwards returned and settled in a Vaudois commune, the marriage was pronounced to be illegal, and the husband was committed to prison.

IX. Since the restoration of the house of Savoy in 1814, the Roman Catholic clergy have claimed the illegitimate children of Vaudois women, as children of the State, and separating infants from their mothers by force, have sent them to an institution at Pignerol.

This grievance is intolerable under any form, but it is rendered more so by having no law to sanction it. When those who proceed to tear children from their parents are asked to shew the authority upon which they act, they plead *ancient usage*. It is rendered still more unendurable by the construction of the term illegitimate. See No. VIII.

[1] Until the Bible Society made some very handsome grants to the Vaudois, they had very few Bibles. In several places, when I asked if they were well supplied with the Scriptures, the answers were nearly the same—"Yes, thanks to the British and Foreign Bible Society." But they are still lamentably destitute of books of devotion.

condition may be taken into consideration,—and that his Sardinian majesty may be urged *to repeal all edicts*, which are contrary to those principles of toleration, which it has been the invariable object of the British government and of its allies, to preserve as the foundation of their policy [1]."

Note.—Some of the grievances enumerated in this memorial, formed the substance of two petitions, the one presented to lord William Bentinck, commander of the British forces; and the other to the Count de Bubna, military governor of Piemont, and general of the Austrian troops in 1814.

At the same time that I sent this letter and memorial to the earl of Aberdeen, I addressed copies of them to the duke of Wellington.

The duke required me "to point out the treaties, which exist between his majesty and the king of Sardinia, respecting the Vaudois."

In my reply to his grace, I was obliged to confess that I could not point out these treaties, but I urged that I had given sufficient evidence of the existence of such treaties, by referring his majesty's government to the declarations of Mr. Hedges, the British envoy at the court of Turin, in 1727, contained in his official correspondence with the secretaries of state at that period.

I received a second note from the duke of Wellington, stating, that "The Duke was in hopes that when Mr. Gilly mentioned treaties with

[1] Declaration of the British government in 1815.

Vaudois; but still I was fearful that I had left the case weak by my inability to point out the treaties to which I had alluded. I therefore took a journey to London, and went to the State Paper Office, where, if any where, the treaties or copies of them were likely to be deposited. No custodian of valuable documents has ever shewn more readiness to promote the objects of persons, who require his assistance, than Mr. Lemon, deputy keeper of the state papers. I have often had reason to feel obliged by his urbanity and patient attention, and gladly do I take this opportunity of recording another instance of the kind manner, in which he is in the habit of rendering his intimate knowledge of the contents of his office useful to the interests of literature and truth.

After some search Mr. Lemon produced the identical document itself, not a copy, but the original treaty to which Mr. Hedges had referred. Archimedes himself, when he solved his problem, did not exclaim εὕρηκα, "I have found it," with greater delight than I did, when I held the treaty in my hand, and saw the sign manual and great seal of "V. Amede."

The fourth article of this treaty concluded August 11, 1704, between Great Britain and the duke of Savoy, begins thus:—"His Royal Highness binds himself to confirm, and hereby does confirm, the secret article of the treaty of October, 1690, relative to the Vaudois." It then recites the treaty

between the king of England, the States General, and the duke of Savoy, dated the Hague, Oct. 20, 1690, in which the following clause occurs:—"Que Son Altesse Royale remet et conserve eux (ses sujets Vaudois) leurs enfans, et postérité dans la possession de tous et chacun *leurs anciens droits, édits, coutumes, et privilèges,* tant pour les habitations, negoce, et exercise de leur religion, que pour toute autre chose." "His Royal Highness restores[1] and secures to the Vaudois, their children and posterity, the possession of *all their ancient rights, customs, and privileges,* in regard to their habitations, traffic, the exercise of their religion, and other claims."

The reciprocal engagement on the part of Great Britain was to guarantee to the duke of Savoy the possession of certain territories, ceded by the Emperor of Germany, on the confines of the Milanese.

I immediately addressed letters to the duke of Wellington and the earl of Aberdeen, to inform their Lordships, that the treaty which I had been

[1] I have now in my possession the copy of an edict of Victor Amadée, dated Turin, May 23, 1694, in which he states, that in conformity with the instances of the king of England, and of the States General of the United Provinces, he had reinstated the Vaudois in the full possession of all their personal, civil, and religious rights, and that, for himself and his successors, he promised them the uninterrupted enjoyment of all their ancient privileges and prerogatives, without any exception whatever.

desired to point out is deposited in the State Paper Office, and I described its contents. Events of the first importance to Europe, and great changes have since taken place, and attention has been diverted from the concerns of the poor Vaudois to affairs of more pressing moment. But I cannot take leave of the subject, without expressing my grateful conviction, that the late administration meant to espouse the cause of the Vaudois in earnest. I have been assured that Lord Aberdeen had begun a paper upon the subject before he left office, and that the day before he gave up the seals, he expressed his regret, that he had not been able to finish it.

It is a subject of great anxiety to know what course his successor will pursue; but trusting to the righteousness and justice of the cause, I am confident it will eventually succeed. The system of non-intervention, which governs our present counsels, ought not to be a bar in the way of exercising that interference, which it is our duty and right to exercise, by virtue of the most solemn treaties.

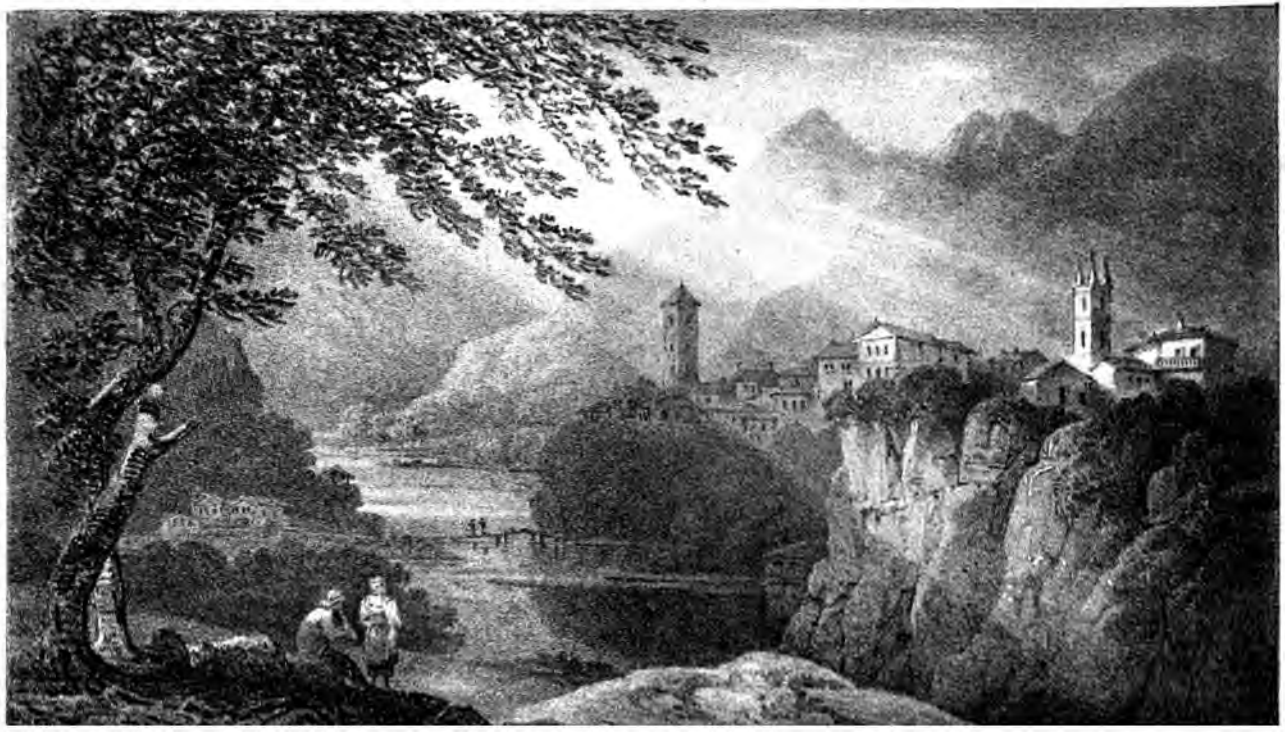
At present the question stands thus.

The inhabitants of the valleys of Luserna, Perosa, and San Martino, and of the parts immediately adjacent, lay claim to the free exercise of their religion, and to the uninterrupted enjoyment of property acquired by them, by virtue of immemorial right. This right has been admitted from

time to time by the dukes of Savoy, and princes of Piemont, and in the very edicts, which have been issued to restrain Protestantism, and to keep the Waldenses in check, express mention has been made of the liberties, privileges, and prerogatives, of the natives of the three valleys; and compacts have been cited, which ratified these liberties. For example, an order of Emanuel Philibert of the 10th of January, 1561, begins thus: "Be it known, that we, having examined the privileges, immunities, exemptions, and concessions made and confirmed by our most illustrious and excellent ancestors to our faithful and beloved subjects of the valleys, &c., do approve and confirm the same." ..... Another dated 3rd of January, 1584, recites several ancient edicts in favour of the men of the valleys, and one in particular, published by Duke Louis in 1448. The celebrated restraining ordinance of 1602, contains this exception: "We prohibit the exercise of the said pretended religion, every where within our dominions, except in the limits where it is graciously tolerated, viz. in the valleys of Luserna, San Martino, and Perosa." In the answers which Charles Emanuel gave to the memorials of the Vaudois in 1602 and 1603, when there was so much alarm excited by the severity exercised in the marquisate of Saluzzo, it was expressly stated, that, "in conformity with ancient custom," the heretics of the three valleys should enjoy their privileges without any interruption.

"In dette tre valli non gli sara data molestia." I have alluded in another place to that extraordinary passage in the edict of 12th June, 1602, in which the reigning duke acknowledged: "It is not possible for us to eradicate them in the valleys, because we are bound to tolerate them there." Bound by what? By the obligation of ancient compacts. But at last bad counsels prevailed, and out of compliance with the bishop of Rome, the dukes of Savoy did attempt to root the Waldenses out of the three valleys, where their personal and religious rights had been so solemnly guaranteed; and they would have destroyed them root and branch in 1655, had it not have been for the interposition of England, and of other Protestant states. Again was the death-warrant signed by Victor Amadée in 1686, but the sword was taken out of his hand by William III., and the States General of Holland: and the solemn treaty between the duke of Savoy on the one part, and England and Holland on the other, in 1690, and a second treaty with England in 1704, formed on the basis of that of 1690, constitute the ground upon which England has obtained the right of interposing in behalf of the Protestants of the valleys.

The Count del Pozzo, a Piemontese nobleman, who has held the highest offices in the state, and to whom the Vaudois are indebted for the most luminous exposition of their wrongs, and for the



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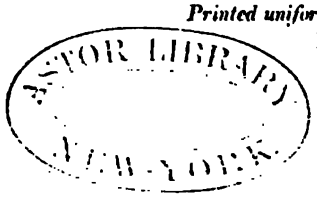

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